

IN THESE TIMES



VOL. 4, NO. 42

OCTOBER 29-NOVEMBER 4, 1980

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Robert Shaeffer



Steve Cagan

H O N E

IS WHERE THE VOTERS ARE



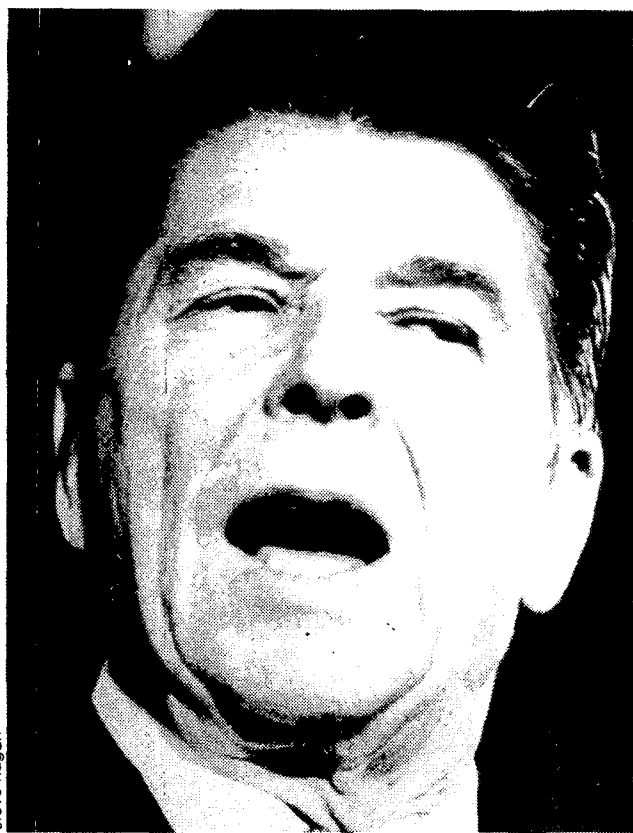
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THE INSIDE STORY



How big a menace?

By John Judis

The only question about the presidential election still worth asking is how great a menace Ronald Reagan really is.

On the basis of his campaign, it would be difficult to say what Reagan believes or would do as president. In talking to Reagan's top advisors, one unmistakably gets the impression that they regard him simply as a public relations man who is "good on television" and who will be able to sell their products to a skeptical public.

There is little evidence in Reagan's past of any careful reflection upon national and world problems. He did not even undergo the brief intellectual apprenticeship that Jimmy Carter did after being governor of Georgia—while Carter was traveling to Tokyo with the Trilateral Commission, Reagan was warming the hearts of small-town Jaycees with anecdotes culled from the *Reader's Digest*.

During the fall campaign, Reagan has permitted his aides to shield him from any casual encounters with the press. He has even avoided the town meeting format. His major foreign and economic policy addresses have reflected careful calculation by his pollster and sometimes fierce battles among his advisors—especially over the Kemp-Roth tax plan. There is no indication they reflect Reagan's own thinking.

Evaluating a possible Reagan presidency is like working out a vector diagram in physics. One must construct the candidate's direction by resolving the different forces that are acting on him.

Establishment economics.

The two most important forces working on Reagan are his major advisors, who are largely out of the Republican establishment, and the political constituencies in the Republican Party that ensured his nomination.

His key economic advisors have almost universally been drawn from the Nixon and Ford administrations. Reagan's choice of them reflected a desire to assure corporate leaders that he would place his presidency in the hands of men they trusted. ("Inside Story," July 2.)

There is considerable common ground between such Reagan advisors as George Schultze, William Simon and Alan Greenspan and such Carter officials as G. William Miller and James T. McIntyre. Those Republicans would have approved Carter's selection of Paul Volcker as the head of the Federal Reserve Board (though they never would have gotten rid of Arthur Burns in the first place). And they actually have taken Carter's side in the debate over Kemp-Roth.

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But there are some differences between the Reagan and Carter camps. Reagan's advisors are much more intransigently opposed to government regulation of business. They would be much more inclined to let the oil or lumber companies "do their thing." Reagan advisor Murray Weindenburg, a former Nixon official who might conceivably replace Michael Pertschuk as head of the Federal Trade Commission, cites the health warnings on cigarette packages as a possible example of government over-regulation.

Reagan's advisors would also be much more inclined to use recession to curb inflation. The Ford administration, under Greenspan and Simon's tutelage, helped trigger the worst slump since the Great Depression. And Reagan's advisors would actively oppose labor-backed measures like labor law reform that the Carter administration ineffectively supported. During a Reagan administration, labor and liberals would again be entirely on the defensive, unable to advance or even define their own priorities.

Choosing South Africa.

Reagan's foreign policy advisors also intersect with the hawks in the Carter administration, but just as there would be no Ray Marshall or Patricia Harris in the Reagan administration, there would also be no Edmund Muskie or Anthony Lake. Overall, the differences between the two groups are even greater in foreign policy.

Reagan's advisors, led by Richard Allen, William Van Cleave and Paul Nitze, opposed Henry Kissinger's attempt to work out SALT II. They were part of the Committee on the Present Danger and the CIA "B Team" that started the latest Soviet arms scare. They are committed to even higher levels of defense spending than the Carter administration is. They would be likely to replace Carter's uncertain, sometimes hawkish posture toward the Soviet Union with one of steady belligerence.

Reagan's advisors would be even more likely to approach the Third World differently from the Carter administration. Carter's policy has consistently been shaped by State Department doves as well as by Zbigniew Brzezinski. In southern Africa and Latin America, it has been far more benign than previous administrations. In other areas, like the Persian Gulf, it has been conveniently confused and uncertain because of administration disagreements.

Reagan's advisors see North-South relations as a function of East-West rivalries. They divide the world into pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet regimes. Purported allies like Chile's Pinochet, Iran's Shah, or South Africa's Botha are to be supported regardless of their internal practices; enemies like Nicaragua's Sandinistas, Angola's MPLA, or Iran's Khomeini and Bani-Sadr are to be actively opposed and, when possible, overthrown.

Robert Lawrence, a research associate at the Institute for Policy Studies, did a survey of Reagan's advisors on southern Africa. When Reagan advisor Dr. Joseph Churba visited Johannesburg last June, he predicted that if Reagan were elected, there would be a "fundamental re-evaluation" of American policy toward South Africa. Churba said he would urge Reagan to end the arms embargo and establish an American military presence at Simonstown naval base. He said that if the U.S. ever had to choose between black Africa and South Africa, "the choice would have to be South Africa."

Reagan's expected choice for National Security Advisor, Richard Allen, has called for Reagan to take the "politically courageous" step of publicly recognizing South Africa as an ally. Allen and other Reagan advi-

sors have also advocated direct military assistance to Jonas Savimbi's forces in Angola.

Reagan's advisors hold similar views on Latin American dictatorships and the popular movements against them. One South American leftist expressed the fear that many opposition leaders feel about Reagan. "If Carter is re-elected," he said, "we can survive. If Reagan is elected, we might all be dead."

Reagan's choice of Ford-Nixon appointees as his main advisors was also designed to create some political distance between Reagan and his far-right supporters. But just as it would be foolish to expect that Reagan would give major cabinet posts to Moral Majority's Rev. Jerry Falwell or the National Conservative Political Action Committee's John Dolan, it would be foolish to hope that he will ignore them and their constituencies, who provided much of the energy for his early primary victories and may help him win several critical Southern and Midwestern states in November.

Even during the fall campaign, their power to affect his decisions was apparent. After Reagan, acting on Anne Armstrong's advice, appointed a Women's Commission, chaired by "liberal" Mary Louise Smith and containing a majority of ERA proponents, Moral Majority staged a two-day phone-in that effectively closed down the switchboards at the Reagan campaign headquarters and the Republican National Committee. Reagan finally capitulated and appointed a new commission on which Moral Majority "pro-family" supporters were a majority.

If he becomes president, Reagan will probably pay his debts to these groups with second- and third-level appointments. One can recall Nixon appointing Howard Phillips, the founder of the Conservative Caucus, to head and eventually dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity. Reagan will make similar appointments to the Department of Education (if it is not abolished) and the Department of Health and Human Services, as well as to independent regulatory bodies and commissions.

Reagan will not appoint the New Right's candidate to vacant Supreme Court positions, but he will not appoint people the New Right finds totally unacceptable. His Supreme Court appointments will probably follow the pattern of his choice of George Bush (rather than Jesse Helms or Howard Baker) as his running-mate.

If Carter wins, he will also have to pay off political debts, but these debts will be to labor, blacks and Kennedy Democrats rather than to self-proclaimed Ayatollahs and closet Birchers. Reagan's right-center administration will tilt farther to the right, while Carter's center-right administration will tilt slightly to the left. In one case, John Dolan might run ACTION; in the other Sam Brown. In one case, E.V. Marriot or Joseph Coors might become an ambassador; in the other Leonard Woodcock or Andrew Young.

It would be wrong to conclude from this comparison that Carter is not a menace. In his four years, Carter has allowed detente to deteriorate, he has increased the chances the U.S. will be drawn into a Mideast war, and he has fought inflation with unemployment. And whatever capacity he had for taking unpopular but correct stands has been totally negated by his incapacity as a political leader.

But Reagan would probably be worse.

Leon Jaworski says he prefers a competent extremist to an incompetent moderate. Leaving aside the judgment of Reagan's full competence and Carter's full moderation, I would have to go with an incompetent moderate.

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IN THESE TIMES



Victory at Stevens after 17 years

By Gretchen Donart

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.

A HUGE ROAR WENT UP AS 750 J.P. Stevens workers rose to their feet on Oct. 19 to unanimously approve the first union contract between the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the nation's second largest textile manufacturer. The vote on the contract—which covers 3,500 workers at 10 plants in four towns in North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama—signaled the end of a 17-year struggle with a company that had become the symbol of Southern resistance to unionization.

The 30-month pact includes union recognition, grievance and arbitration procedures, seniority rights, dues check-off and wage increases granted to other Stevens employees but withheld from Roanoke Rapids workers in 1979 and 1980.

"This will certainly build the morale of the people here," said Virginia Barton, who has worked at the Patterson mill here for 25 years. "I've been here through three elections, and Stevens said they'd never give in. This contract, with grievance and arbitration, gives workers more control."

Many workers were looking forward to the back pay awards that compensate Roanoke Rapids workers for the raises put into effect in other plants. The contract provides that checks averaging \$1,300 will be issued within a month. And the new wage rates—a 19 percent increase—started at 12:01 Monday morning.

Another contract provision—which union officials say is unique—requires Stevens to offer its union workers any wage or benefit improvements it plans to install in other plants in the chain. Union officials hope this will prevent the company from penalizing pro-union shops as it did Roanoke Rapids.

Anti-union forces at other plants never tired of pointing out that Roanoke Rapids workers paid a price far higher than union dues for their determination to organize.

Simultaneously, in New York, ACTWU and Stevens officials signed a national pact that would extend the contract to other plants where the union wins recognition within the next 18 months. In return, ACTWU agreed to end its consumer boycott and corporate campaign against Stevens and to refrain from using its court-ordered right to enter plant canteens and break areas to organize. (Just one day later, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn those rights in a case involving Tifton, Ga., Stevens workers.)

Union officials said that the pact could

accelerate organizing at other textile chains. "Beginning tomorrow, we intend to tell every textile worker we can get a leaflet to what we've accomplished," Richard Rothstein, organization director of the Stevens drive, told workers just before the vote. Scott Hoyman, ACTWU's executive vice president and Southern director, noted that the union had already begun a campaign among employees of Cannon Mills in North Carolina's Cabarrus and Rowan counties—a mammoth bargaining unit of 16,000 workers.

The union victory was the result of an innovative combination of tactics. In plants with strong union committees, union shop stewards took up grievances just as though they had a contract. ACTWU provided training, teaching workers their rights under federal labor laws and the Occupational Safety and Health Act. Union stewards then accompanied other workers when they were called into the office, and union committees insisted on—and got—group meetings with management.

When Stevens managers wouldn't answer union grievances, committee members circulated petitions, keeping up

shop-floor pressure. The stewards' victories were frequently small ones—the installation of a pay phone, a cleaner lunch room, a job back for an injured worker—but they built workers' confidence and sense of solidarity.

The second prong of the attack was an international boycott of J.P. Stevens' goods. The boycott was hampered by a proliferation of brand names and the fact that less than a third of Stevens goods are sold at retail. (In Canada, where secondary boycotts are legal, UAW members refused to install J.P. Stevens carpets in cars.) In the South, the boycott was regarded as a two-edged sword. While on the one hand, it might drive the company to the bargaining table, on the other, it threatened to throw employees out of work or at least put them on short hours.

Many organizers did not bother to conceal their unhappiness with the boycott, and union officials were wary of saying that the boycott was a success. For that reason, concrete evidence of the boycott's effectiveness is hard to come by, but many retail stores did cancel orders of sheets and towels and one Wall Street insider newsletter maintained that the

profitability of Stevens' household goods line had dropped dramatically.

A third tactic was to dog Stevens in the courts. ACTWU attorneys filed complaints against Stevens' illegal union-busting tactics so systematically that the company eventually won the honor of being—in George Meany's words—"the nation's number one labor-law violator." These legal battles have won the rehiring of dozens of union supporters and are close to winning union recognition at plants where gross labor violations have made elections a farce. Though workers, organizers and boycott supporters sometimes chafed under the slow progress of court challenges, union officials argued that it was the only way to go against a relatively strike-proof firm with 70 plants scattered across seven states.

The fourth prong of the attack sought to sever Stevens' ties to other corporations. The key victory in this "corporate campaign" may have been the retirement on Jan. 1—two years ahead of schedule—of Stevens' chairman, James D. Finley. Finley was widely regarded as the architect and mainstay of Stevens anti-union policy. Earlier, pressure had forced Finley to resign from the boards of New York Life Insurance Co. and Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.

Finley was replaced by Whitney Stevens, who, although conservative, was seen as more flexible. Finley's retirement seemed to change the atmosphere in the organizing campaign: Over the last six months workers reported that the company had eased pressure on union supporters. And recently, ACTWU gave organizers the go-ahead to organize other textile firms in areas where they were stationed, as top-level talks with Stevens' management got under way.

The corporate campaign was the brainchild of Ray Rogers, whose flamboyant style frequently clashed with the grey anonymity of the union's top leaders. After identifying the corporation's weak points, Rogers threatened Mutual Life Insurance with elections among its policy holders for the company's governing boards and joined with redlining activists to threaten banks doing business with Stevens when they attempted to open new branches.

The union still has a tough fight ahead. It has only the 30-month span of this contract to show textile workers that the union, with strong grievance, arbitration and health and safety language in the contracts, can make a real difference. "I'm not expecting them to roll over and die tomorrow," said international representative Clyde Bush. "We've had a war with the company for 16 years."

Gretchen Donart, a New York writer, was formerly an assistant editor of ACTWU's Labor Unity.



Workers leave the Oct. 19 meeting that unanimously ratified their first contract.

NEW YORK

Showdown in the silk stocking district



Gretchen Donart

By Gretchen Donart

NEW YORK

APPROPRIATELY, IT'S GREEN vs. Green in New York's 18th Congressional District, the wealthiest in the state. Money is the issue: how the government shall collect and spend it

and how candidates for office shall collect and spend it.

Squared off in the silk stocking district are multi-millionaire incumbent Republican Sedgewick William Green ("Congressman Bill," his campaign buttons proclaim) and the former head of Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, Mark J. Green.

The two candidates could hardly be

more different. Mark Green comes to the race with a solid record as a public interest lawyer, writer and organizer. He was the spark behind Big Business Day, which pulled together 200 unions, environmental groups and political and community organizations in 150 cities to publicize corporate abuses. Although not a socialist ("I think business is capable of acting responsibly," he told the Democratic Socialist Club), he has defended working in coalitions with socialists and he brings to the campaign a solid critique of government policies that undermine the economic base of northern industrial cities.

Mark Green has won enthusiastic support from the Auto Workers, the Mach-

ile Island) and Consolidated Edison, from the banking and credit firms like Citibank, Lehman Brothers, Chemical Bank, Bankers Trust of South Carolina, Morgan Guaranty, Long Island Trust, American Express, the Savings and Loan League, the Mortgage Bankers Association, the Investment Companies Institute and the National Consumer Finance Association. Added to that are a batch of individual contributions from bankers, including David Rockefeller.

Mark Green's strategy has been to make his opponent well known on the theory that Bill Green is out of step with his liberal constituency. "Maybe now Bill Green will have to put Republican in front of his name," said Mark as he an-

The Campaign That Says What We've All Been Thinking

Carter, Reagan and Anderson have cavorted on the evening news. Alternative parties have remained in the woodwork. The Citizens Party is the only political organization with the strength, the energy, the ideas and the guts to have campaigned effectively in 1980.

- The Citizens Party's grassroots network got us on thirty state ballots—more than any independently organized third party has ever achieved in its first campaign.

- The Citizens Party went to New York to show progressive Democrats that Jimmy Carter is the one who walked out on the Democratic Party, and that there is a progressive alternative this year.

- Citizens Party raised the key progressive issues this year—plant closings, high utility rates, Love Canals across America, the threat of nuclear war and nuclear power.

- The Citizens Party took the word that the whole country had been whispering and said it out loud: "Bullshit. Carter, Reagan and Anderson. It's all bullshit!"

Now, even the conservative St. Paul Pioneer Press editorializes, "Well, he was right, wasn't he?"

But we can't stop now. The 1980 election is just the prologue to the next decade's political developments. Progressives must get their foot in the door, if we are going to join together to throw the political system open.

As *IN THESE TIMES* readers, you know the vital importance of timing in political work. Not since the 1930's have so many Americans been ready to confront the basic contradictions in this country. In just a few days the ballots will be counted. Having come so far, we have an obligation to push forward now on every front. The Citizens Party is not scaling down. It is gearing up—preparing to further the gains already made.

But we must have your help. Many of you have responded generously to our appeals during recent weeks. We thank you, but we must also regretfully say that it is not enough. Please give again now, and enable us to make a final push in this campaign and come out on November 5th ready to move ahead. If you can afford \$50.00, it will be put to good use, but every size donation will be used well.

This is the time. We are poised to make significant gains. Please send your contribution today.

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In an unprecedented move, multi-millionaire Bill Green and ex-Nader aide Mark Green negotiated a limit on campaign spending. But Mark still faces an uphill battle.

inists, the Food and Commercial Workers and the Airline Pilots Association, probably the only union with a significant number of its members in a district that includes the Upper East Side, Gramercy Park and part of Greenwich Village.

To call Bill Green a "moderate" Republican based on his 58 percent ADA rating is to point up the blindness of those numbers. Bill Green has voted, with fair consistency, for corporate America: for reduction in capital gains taxes, for the Kemp-Roth bill, for nuclear power, for oil and gas decontrol. He is sponsoring legislation that would increase the age for Social Security eligibility from 65 to 68.

Many of those votes were for himself. Bill Green held nearly \$1 million in oil company stock at the time he voted for oil and gas deregulation. While voting with the nuclear industry, Green owned stock in Kerr-McGee.

Bill Green's record on the House Banking Committee is anti-consumer. He voted to continue to allow credit card companies to raise interest rates retroactively, to force the Federal Reserve to pay interest on bank reserves it holds and against granting the Justice Department anti-trust jurisdiction over the banking industry.

For this, Bill Green has been handsomely rewarded. Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions have poured in from nuclear interests such as Babcock and Wilcox (the builders of Three

nounced his candidacy. Mark contrasts Bill with other members of New York's delegation. "Last year, Liz Holtzman and 14 other members of Congress from New York City received a perfect 100 percent rating from the National Council of Senior Citizens. Bill Green voted against older Americans 60 percent of the time."

On nuclear power, Mark Green has publicized Bill Green's votes in favor of the \$1.3 billion in federal money for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor and against a moratorium on new nuclear reactors following the accident at Three Mile Island.

On welfare reform, Mark Green has denounced Bill Green's support of block welfare grants to the states as a symptom of insensitivity to New York's fiscal problems. "The real solution is the federalization of a national problem."

"Bill Green's record is clear," says Mark Green. "He supports Reagan economics, even though he won't say whether he's supporting a Reagan presidency."

But despite weekly airing of the issues in the *Village Voice*, the *Soho News* and the east side papers, voters seem apathetic, distressed by presidential choices. A low turnout would favor Congressman Bill, who has stressed his support for solar power, worked his constituency offices well and will probably raise and spend the full \$236,145 limit the candidates have agreed to. It's an uphill fight for Nader's best Raider.

Gretchen Donart is a New York writer.

THE CAMPAIGN

Blue-collar voters see little choice

By David Morong

THE WAY REAGAN HAS BEEN talking recently, the unwary voter might never realize that the ex-actor followed up his stint as president of the Screen Actors Guild with a couple of decades as flack for General Electric and as an anti-union after-dinner speaker on the right-wing circuit.

In campaign rallies before unemployed steelworkers in Youngstown and Steubenville, Ohio, unemployed auto workers in Flint, Mich., and union audiences from Green Bay, Wis., to New York City, Reagan has tried to capitalize on workers' discontent with inflation and unemployment and to abandon past anti-labor positions. Most of the key states that Carter must win to have a chance at re-election have strong union and blue-collar constituencies with economic problems—Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania, for example.

To succeed, Reagan doesn't even have to win these voters over to his side. They merely have to stay home, and that seems quite possible. It is estimated that roughly half the eligible electorate will vote this year, and blue collar voters may be disproportionately among them. In the post-war presidential elections, blue-collar voters turned out at the same level or slightly higher by comparison with the population as a whole until 1964. Since then their participation in elections has fallen off at a more rapid clip than the general population.

Carter inspires little enthusiasm even

in states like Ohio also tends to be "softer" than Reagan's.

Carter forces need to frighten many of those Anderson, soft and undecided blue-collar or union voters into a last-minute stampede for the incumbent. But there are problems. An AFL-CIO poll taken late in the summer showed that 60 percent of the federation's members did not think it made much difference which party controlled Congress or the White House with regard to passage of anti-labor legislation. On numerous issues, the poll indicated that union members were closer to Reagan than Carter (or the AFL-CIO): 72 percent opposed cuts in military spending, 65 percent favored a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget, 60 percent opposed the Panama Canal treaties, 51 percent opposed strict controls on handguns and 44 percent opposed legalized abortion.

Moreover, by a margin of three to one they blamed government more than business for the recession (which can't help Carter) and by two to one thought there was too much government regulation of business. All that is consistent with trends in recent years from voter surveys by the Institute for Social Research. Blue-collar workers and union members express progressively less identification as liberals and feel increasingly that the government is too strong, that the government should not guarantee jobs or economic well-being, and that military spending should not be cut.

But Ben Albert of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education says that the same poll overwhelmingly shows that union members will vote for a can-



among union members and blue-collar voters who say they will vote for him. Bob Dalestadio, a 23-year-old construction worker shooting pool on Chicago's northwest side, was typical in his lukewarm defense of Carter: "He's not done that bad a job. He's done as good as anybody else running. Besides, he's had a lot of problems."

For that reason, many unions—as well as the Carter campaign—have focused on the Reagan threat to scare voters into pulling the lever for Carter. The war threat works among younger workers and among women. "I think if Reagan gets in, we'll have another war," Dalestadio said, "and I don't want that."

Although national polls show Carter leading Reagan among union households by a margin of 41 or 43 percent to Reagan's 31 or 34 percent, Carter is still a long way from the 50 percent he got in 1976—and needs now. Carter labor strategists and union leaders have been surprised at the relatively strong worker support for Anderson—now in the range of 11 to 13 percent but declining from readings as high as a quarter of union members in Michigan late in the summer. Also, polls nationally show an unusually high percentage of undecided voters, but the indecision seems even greater in union households—as much as 25 percent in a CBS/New York Times poll in Ohio, where over a third of all undecided voters were from union families. Carter support

didate strong on union issues—such as the right to organize, labor law reform, job safety or the Davis-Bacon guarantee of prevailing wages for construction workers on federal jobs—over a candidate who is right on the conservative issues but bad on specific labor concerns.

Reagan has tried to tackle this problem head-on by making an about face. A quarter-million leaflets have been sent out to key states claiming that Reagan would not abolish OSHA or the Davis-Bacon guarantee, would not seek a national open shop "right-to-work" law, and would not try to extend anti-trust laws to unions—all positions for which he had previously expressed support. Michael Balzano, Reagan's labor advisor, told the *New York Times* that he did not want the traditionally Democratic blue-collar, union voters to switch to Reagan. "I want them to stay home," he said. "I don't want them to vote."

No easy sell.

The Carter campaign is in a bit of a bind. The efforts to attack Reagan harshly have backfired with many voters, including blue-collar workers who had previously seen Carter's "decency" as one of his few redeeming features. Also, Sam Fishman, director of the UAW's community action program in Michigan, argues that the narrower labor focus on Reagan's positions hostile to union institutions are not as likely to sway union

voters as an emphasis on what harm he will do directly to workers—such as cut off CETA funds, Trade Readjustment Assistance or extended unemployment benefits. But when it comes to general economic welfare, Carter looks weak.

"There is no doubt that the pocket-book is the major thing on people's minds, with inflation the way it is and the voluntary freeze," Illinois COPE director Richard Walsh said. "It's pretty easy to convince people of the bad record of Reagan. The harder part is squaring Carter with the bad record on the economy. It's not an easy sell."

"That stuff Reagan is putting out now is hurting," a labor specialist with the Carter campaign admits. "We're in a tough position. What do you promise? More of the same?" John Thomas of the Ohio AFL-CIO said unions there decided to be "brutally frank" about Carter's poor record so that their pitch on behalf of Carter would seem credible. "We say Carter has dropped the ball on a lot of things," Thomas says, "but let's be realistic and see what life would be like under a Reagan administration."

Union political endorsements have limited effect, but they do seem to reduce erosion of traditional Democratic sup-

port, even if they don't swing the growing band of independents among workers. Reagan has picked up support only from the Teamsters and two small unions—the National Maritime Union and the National Association of Police Organizations. Carter has the less-than-enthrilled support of most other unions, except the Machinists and United Electrical Workers. The unions claim that they are putting as much money and effort into this election as in 1976, but as Fishman observes, "There is not the kind of normal enthusiasm for Carter that you have for most Democratic presidential candidates."

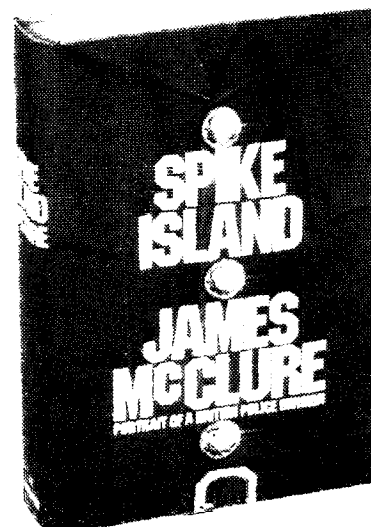
A deep malaise.

The malaise, to use Carter's diagnosis from Camp David, is even deeper. "People are disgusted," a community organizer from a traditionally Democratic, Polish-Italian working-class neighborhood in Chicago says. "I've never seen such unanimity. They don't feel much faith or confidence in any of the candidates. Based on Carter's record, they feel he hasn't done much for their kind of people. Some people talk about our standing in the world, but the primary

Continued on page 6



An unforgettable picture of life inside a British police station



P.D. JAMES hails:

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POLITICS

Local races key to power in the '80s



By John Judis
and David Moberg

THERE'S MORE TO THIS FALL'S election than the presidency and the congressional races. At the state level, voters will decide on numerous initiatives that would change state tax structures or limit nuclear power. They will also elect the state representatives who will draw up new political districts on

Richard Barnett in *THE LEAN YEARS* analyzes the crucial issues we face in the immediate future—

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the basis of the 1980 census and thereby deeply influence legislatures from Washington on down in the coming decade.

Although Proposition 13-style tax cuts and limits are on the ballot in several states, including Massachusetts, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota and Utah, voters will have a more progressive alternative in Michigan and, especially, Ohio. The Ohio Fair Tax Initiative would limit property tax for households with income below \$30,000. It would raise corporate taxes on corporations with profits of more than \$75,000 and individuals with taxable income over \$30,000 and close several loopholes (bank and savings and loan corporate income tax exemption, local enactment of tax abatements, exemption of some corporate purchases—such as equipment—from sales tax, and scheduled reductions of business property tax).

Advocates, including many unions, the Ohio Public Interest Campaign and varied community groups, claim that the Fair Tax initiative will reverse the shift of taxes from corporations to individuals and will forestall a general tax increase that will otherwise be needed. Fighting business coalitions with twice the money for TV ads, the Fair Tax committee has to contend with arguments that the tax reform will drive up prices as businesses pass through the cost, will cost the state jobs and will fatten "big government."

The initiative loses in early polls, but if it is explained, then voters favor it by a two-to-one margin. The initiative suffers, according to spokesperson Merrill Goozner, from lack of money, the greater difficulties any "pro" vote has in a referendum and Carter's unpopularity with potential progressive voters. The fight is bitter—and significant. "We have scratched the balls of the bear on this one," Goozner said. "The implications are tremendous: the so-called tax revolt can be channeled in another direction."

Among other initiatives, voters in Washington, Missouri, Montana and South Dakota will all decide whether to prohibit importation of nuclear waste into their states or operation of nuclear power plants and uranium mining until there is a safe method of permanent waste disposal. Even then, in Missouri, a nuclear power plant operator would have to post bond for decommissioning and restoring the site to unrestricted use.

State house races.

State legislative races usually draw yawns, but this year's will actually shape national politics for the next ten years. Whichever party or party faction controls a state's legislature will set the boundaries for new congressional districts. Sunbelt states like California, Texas, Florida and Colorado are expected to gain new seats, while many Northern states, including New York, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, are expected to lose them.

In the past, the majority party has been able to reapportion these districts to favor their own candidates. After the 1970 census, an Illinois Republican majority in the state houses drew up new districts that enabled Republicans to win 58 percent of the state's congressional seats in 1972 while getting less than a majority of the popular vote. In Missis-

sippi, conservative Democrats drew up new districts after the 1970 census that prevented the state's black population—37 percent of the total—from being a majority in any district.

In 1978, Democrats kept control of both houses in 30 states, while the Republicans increased their count to 13. Seven other states were split. In 1980, the Republican National Committee is

Above and below: Ohioans demonstrate in favor of a ballot initiative that would redistribute the state tax burden.



Reagan

Continued from page 5

concern has been economic issues, mainly inflation. Reagan hasn't captured their imagination or convinced them he'll do a better job. He's old, he's an actor. They have an instinct about Republicans and Reagan not being for working people. But the overall mood is one of hopelessness, that it doesn't make any difference who gets in. They feel the economy is no good now but can only get worse and that nobody understands it, that it's completely out of control. The same with world politics. They fear we are drifting toward war. They're incredibly isolationist. The world seems in chaos and they want to retreat, do the best you can, live as nice as you can."

Ron Gianakopoulos, a 30-year-old electrician, took time from his bowling in that same area of Chicago to note cynically, "As far as I'm concerned, they all give the same line of garbage. I don't think Carter has done anything. Reagan says he'll do a lot, but saying it and doing it are different. I don't think there's a choice. No matter which one of them gets in there will be war." He remains undecided, waiting for Reagan to be specific on where he would cut the budget and what he would do in Iran.

A few lanes away, Jim Carr, 46, a janitor, said he preferred Anderson but would vote for Carter since Anderson didn't have a chance. Reagan was a throwback to days gone by, "but it's a

different world today. You can't tell the Arabs or Russians what to do. You've got to get along with them."

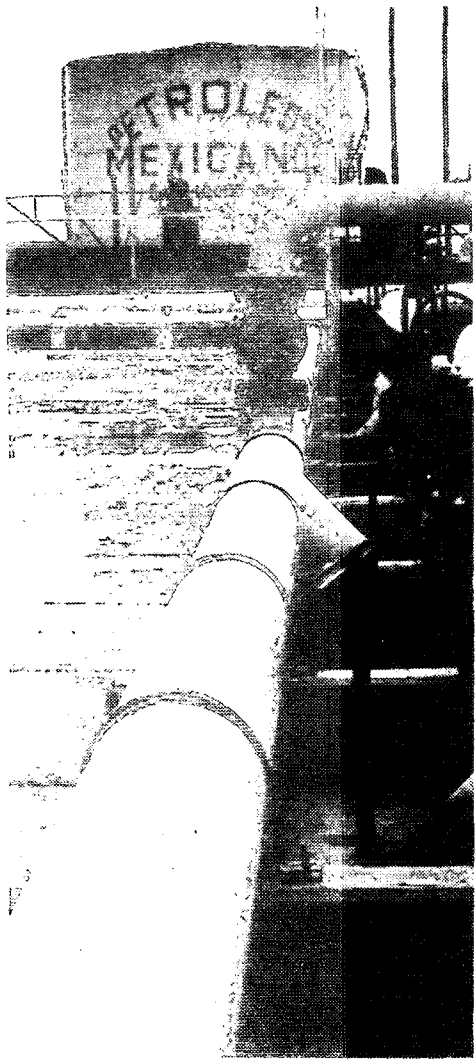
At the other end of the city, watching the evening news on TV at Roma's Restaurant, Frank Ratkovic, 64, a retired heavy equipment operator who voted for Carter in 1976, concluded, "Personally, I'll have to go for Reagan. People can see what Carter did. Nothing. Any change will be a good change."

As these blue-collar voters make their decisions in the coming days, Carter's fate will be decided in the key industrial states. But beyond the outcome of the election, the legacy of the campaign seems to be a greater disillusionment, despair and cynicism among working-class voters. They grow less firmly anchored in the Democratic party and more open to conservative appeals but unwilling to embrace the Republican right. Can they be reached by a new appeal from the left (or a Wallace-style right) in the future? Or will they just sit home?

Ultimately, the election may be decided by how many people like Frank, and his friend Henry, a steelworker for 36 years until his mill closed seven months ago, decide it is just not worth going to the polls Nov. 4. "I always voted Democratic," Henry said, "but I don't know this year. I just feel for my fellow workers. In a few months they may go on welfare. Wouldn't it be better if the government put some of these people to work—make them feel like a man again? Most of us are about 50-50 on Carter. We don't know. Let me put it this way: if it rains that day, a lot of them may just not vote."

LATIN AMERICA

Mexico mismanages oil boom



New petrochemical plants are going up rapidly in the oil boom states.

By Arthur Allen

TABASCO, MEXICO

AS OUR RENTED CAR SPED through the night past the banana plantations and cattle ranches on the road to the Cactus petrochemical plant near Reforma, Chiapas, a local journalist friend commented on the changes occurring in this part of Mexico.

"The constitution states that all minerals are owned by the nation. And oil, as property of the nation, is owned by Mexicans...but only a few—not by all of us."

The car slows to avoid colliding with traffic stopped ahead. Barefoot children from the palm-roofed huts along the road clamber up to the pavement. Students get off their bus to watch. "Has there been an accident?" one of us asks. A worker in a torn white t-shirt mutters, "It's those damn bumps they put in the road here to slow the traffic down. They never bothered to put up a stop sign, so they come barreling through here at 90 kilometers-an-hour and suddenly, wham!"

Such are the risks of unplanned—*disfrenado*, or "unbraked," as one Mexico City paper puts it—growth. Drilling for hydrocarbons goes on here in Tabasco 24 hours a day. Wells in the Bay of Campeche have the highest daily yield in the world. Yet oil production has expanded so rapidly that almost half of the associated natural gas released every day by the drilling, valued at over \$1 million, is simply burned off. At night the boomtown states of Chiapas and Tabasco are lit up by the flaring of wasted gas.

In the past four years, Mexico's proven oil reserves have increased exponentially. The latest report by Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex), the state oil monopoly, indicates stocks of 60 billion barrels, placing Mexico's proven reserves in the top four worldwide. Villahermosa, Tabasco, is the center for Pemex's southern district, which includes the most rapidly growing production and exploration areas. But despite its oil wealth, the area's inhabitants suffer high inflation and unemployment. The extremes of wealth and poverty here pose a question for Mexico's future: does oil hold out new promise for the country, or will the current boom spawn still greater strains and antagonisms?

Before 1950, the state of Tabasco in the southeastern corner of Mexico was isolated from the rest of the country by poor railroad and highway connections. In the late '50s, Pemex began drilling in the region and by 1970, 30 percent of the nation's oil was produced in the Reforma fields, located for the most part in Tabasco and Chiapas. Today, Villahermosa is at the core of the nation's oil develop-

ment plans, though public relations officials at Pemex district offices here said their office didn't exist three years ago. Along the frontier of the zone, unprecedented finds continue to be made. And to keep pace with expanding production, new separating and petrochemical plants are going up rapidly.

Pemex was created in 1938 when reform-oriented President Lazaro Cardenas nationalized the oil industry. The state industry is an item of legitimate national pride to many Mexicans. In the post-nationalization period, Pemex weathered a U.S.-mastered embargo on technology and purchases of its oil as well as stagnating proven reserves before entering the golden age of the '70s. Despite the boycott, Pemex was able to train the engineers and technicians who have conducted most of the country's successful exploration and development programs.

Yet Pemex is a far cry from an autonomous oil industry. In addition to the equipment and technology it must purchase abroad—and for which Pemex pays out 44 percent of Mexico's foreign exchange—the luxury hotels of Villahermosa, full of Germans, Japanese, Italians and, above all, *gringos*, reflect its dependent condition. Dozens of foreign companies, including giants such as GM and Babcock and Wilcox, have lucrative Pemex contracts for construction, drilling, consulting and repair services.

One Mexican engineer estimated there are 2,000 foreigners working in the Villahermosa zone at any given time; Pemex employs only about 10,000 full-time workers in the area. But not all of the companies sub-contracting for Pemex are foreign. Many are owned by Mexican contractors, some of whom simultaneously hold Pemex posts. Pemex president Jorge Diaz Serrano, for example, is also the owner of a major drilling company. And in fact, it was an American firm, Sedco, drilling in the Campeche Sound for Perforaciones del Golfo, S.A., which Diaz Serrano founded, that was blamed for the Ixtoc I spill in June 1979.

Pemex first made low-key disclosures of promising finds in the states of Tabasco and Chiapas in 1972. Speculation increased with the release of new information by U.S. trade journals in 1974. Finally, in December 1976, President Lopez Portillo announced the doubling of Mexico's proven reserves to 11.2 billion barrels.

U.S. officials apparently learned of the oil bonanza quite early on—at least by 1974. But even while rumors flew in Mexico, the American public was two years behind its government in learning of the find.

The official silence in Mexico reflected the growing power of oil chief Diaz Serrano. While Pemex officials claim that the announcement was held back to avoid raising false expectations, politics clearly had much to do with its timing.

When Lopez Portillo came to power in September 1976, the country was under serious internal and international pressures. His predecessor, Luis Echeverria, had engaged in relatively lavish social spending and extensive land reform, arousing the ire of the Nixon and Ford administrations, Mexican industrialists and international lending institutions.

Lopez Portillo's first actions were designed to appease those people. He devalued the peso by one-half and undertook some belt-tightening measures that, while placating the IMF and World Bank on the subject of Mexico's \$16 billion foreign debt, left a sour taste among those sectors that had benefited from Echeverria's reforms. Inflation and the flight of Mexican capital created a critical situation early in the new *sexenio*, or six-year term; the December oil report helped ameliorate the situation.

But the effects of the oil bonanza also revealed critical structural problems nag-

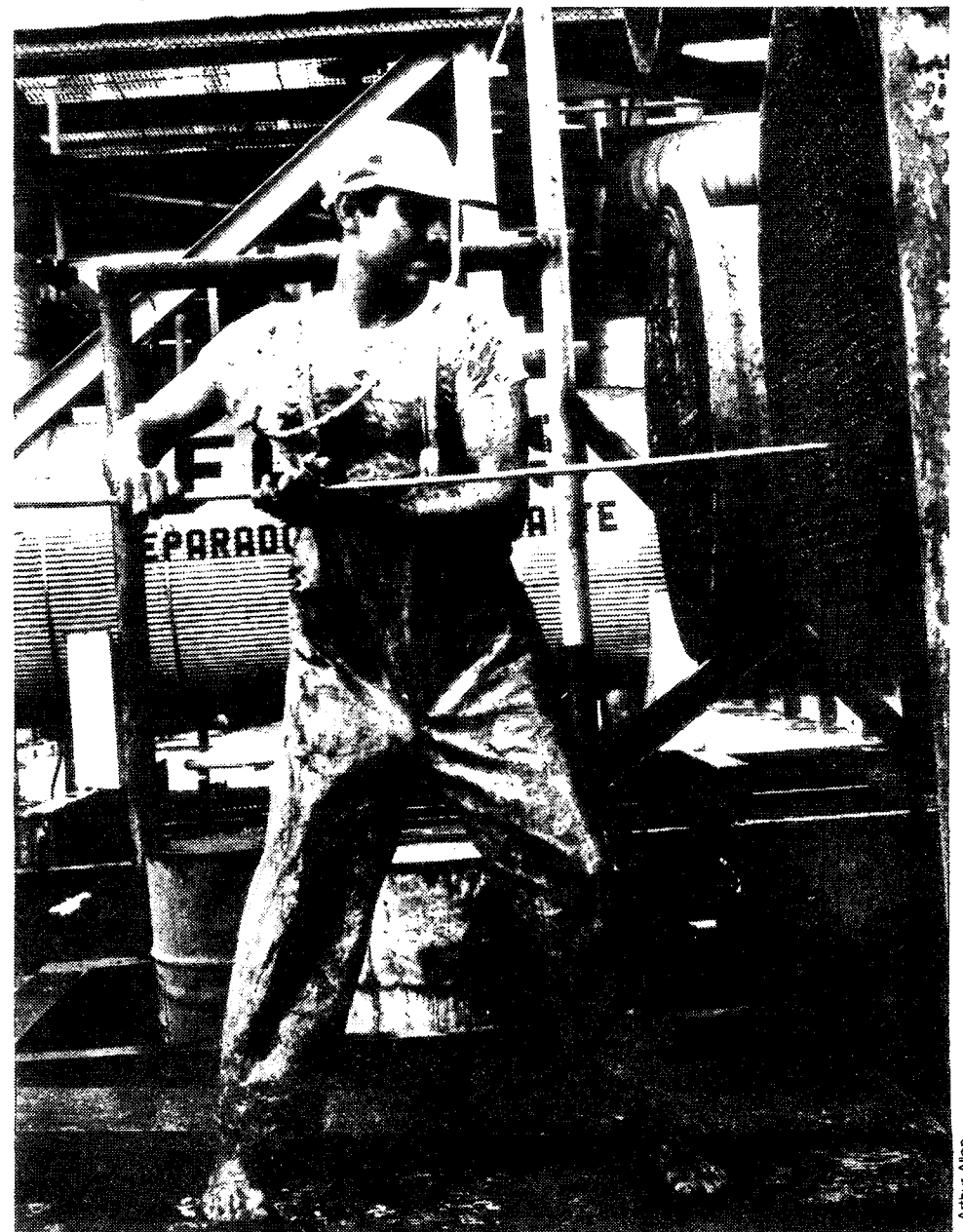
ging the Mexican economy. Long an exporter of grain, Mexico has of late become a massive importer, and real agricultural growth declined in the past year. With credit restrictions lifted, public debt rose from \$16 billion to \$32 billion during the Lopez Portillo regime. Despite government promises to the contrary, Pemex foreign currency revenues (expected to be about \$12 billion this year) are now being used for servicing the public debt—at the rate of \$4 billion per year—and for massive foreign grain purchases.

Since the recent oil discoveries, internal fuel consumption has been growing at the rate of 15 percent per year, spurred by massive government subsidies (some \$20 billion per year) that hold fuel prices down, ostensibly to stimulate industrial diversification. But while cheap fuel has allowed for a GNP growth rate expected to be about 8 percent this year, many feel the subsidies encourage waste and offer protection for inefficient industrial processes. Lip service has been paid, especially since the president's recent state-of-the-union message, to the elimination of "monstrous" subsidies, as well as to offering incentives for the basic grains industry, but concrete results have yet to be seen.

The gaps in national planning often appear most acute in the oil-bearing regions. Gases from the wells destroy crops, and careless drilling practices destroy the streams essential to farming communities. As a result, thousands of peasants in the Gulf states have left for the cities. Meanwhile, prices throughout the area skyrocket.

Living conditions for a significant portion of Villahermosa's population have dipped to the subsistence level. "Oh, sure, the oilmen are doing fine," said one shopkeeper in the city as we watched a fleet of taxis being waved down in front of the Pemex offices, "but what about the people in 'Las Gavilotas'?"—referring to a sprawling slum without running water, electricity or jobs for the thousands who occupy houses of tarpaper and corrugated tin.

The union that controls Pemex jobs allegedly charges workers as much as \$3,500 for a full-time position.



The development policies of oil minister Diaz Serrano and his followers are challenged in some government ministries, as well as in the left press. These "nationalist" critics want more emphasis on developing Mexico's total infrastructure. Many, such as Herberto Castillo of the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT), argue that oil exports should be reduced or eliminated in favor of boosting a national industrialization plan. Castillo claims Diaz Serrano and the president have worked behind the scenes and without public consensus or awareness to jack up export quotas.

But to some extent, this debate is merely a sideline. As an economics professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) noted, "Whether we export oil or not is irrelevant. It would be impossible to totally halt exports, to cut our relations with the outside—and besides, what effect would that have? Oil or no oil, the nation will not survive without internal changes." Many here feel the myth of the Mexican revolution needs to be refurbished—clearly the Mexican working class and peasantry have been deprived of an active part in national decisions revolving around the post-oil boom.

Even in the oil sector itself, workers have been hoodwinked and misrepresented. The Mexican Oil Workers' Union (STPRM), one of the most powerful and wealthy labor organizations in the nation, controls all blue-collar positions in Pemex. The union, which reportedly charges workers 80,000 pesos (\$3,500) for a full-time Pemex position, has been accused of grafting millions of dollars from the state oil industry and its employees.

Critics warn that if real opportunities are not offered to the masses of this country, Mexico may experience a social upheaval on a scale of that in Iran. Few forces in the country appear to desire such a confrontation, but when traveling at such high speeds, will it be possible to detect the flaw in the path in time? ■

Arthur Allen works with the People's Translation Service in Oakland, Calif.

France Confronts

THE MYSTERIOUS OCT. 3 bomb explosion in front of a Paris synagogue has stirred dangerously conflicting fears and interpretations. Amid the unanimous and mostly heartfelt condemnations of a terrorist crime that killed four people, there is deep confusion over what it all means.

A bomb going off in a street is a disconnected, absurd event. It takes on meaning as people imaginatively supply connections. But these connections vary according to political culture and preoccupations. The images of the past, of Hitlerian Europe and the Holocaust, conjured up by anti-Semitic aggression may obscure specific features of the present situation that are different and that must be correctly perceived if the existing perils are to be combatted effectively.

Yes, there is an international neo-Nazi movement in Europe—and no doubt in the U.S. as well—that is growing ever more bold and aggressive. As in the '30s, an apparently unsolvable economic crisis, deepening and incurable unemployment, and the divisions and failures of the left—that is, of the generous-spirited tendencies in political life—create an opportunity for fascist movements. But the neo-Nazis of today have learned from the past. The small fry, the mercenaries, may run around mimicking Hitler, but the leaders, the theoreticians, have adjusted their behavior and their strategy.

No, there is no mass fascist movement in Europe today as there was in the '30s. The neo-Nazis of today have a different strategy: infiltration of the command posts in society, and especially the police and the armed forces, militarization of civil strife in order to reinforce oppressive forces and eliminate opposition. The ultimate aim, as proclaimed in neo-Nazi publications: "a hierarchical society based on the biological potential of individuals."

Unlike the '30s, the neo-Nazis have a ready-made solution to their "Jewish problem": the "Jewish community" should develop its admirable "cultural identity"...by emigrating to Israel. And the most disturbing, politically difficult aspect of the situation today is that this is precisely the position taken by the ultra-Zionists and by the right-wing Israeli government of Menachem Begin.

The inconspicuous temple in the Rue Copernic that was the target of the Oct. 3 bombing is a particularly liberal one that seeks to reconcile Judaism with contemporary French life and customs and pursues dialogue with Catholics and Protestants. "More than any others," a member of the congregation, Simone Harari, wrote after the attack, "the Jews of Copernic try to find a way that is neither an assimilation that would make them lose their roots nor a 'lobby' that would tend to separate them from the rest of French society. What lesson are they supposed to draw from that attack? Was it meant to show that Jews most attuned to reconciling their identity with the society to which they belong are on the wrong track?"

AND WHAT ABOUT ALL the non-religious Jews in France? Juliette Minces, who as a child was interned for being Jewish by the fascist Vichy regime of Marshal Petain, who has published studies of Algerian immigrant workers and women in the Arab world and, recently, a bitter memoir of her childhood experience of anti-Semitism entitled *I Hate THAT France!*, said she objected to being "shoved into a 'community.'" Almost all the indignant reactions to the Rue Copernic bombing referred to a

"Jewish community" that in fact is largely fictional. One can imagine that if all the French men and women who are also more or less Jewish were catalogued, shoved into a "community" and shipped off to Israel, French intellectual and political life would be impoverished as Germany's was by the rise of Hitler, and the theoreticians of the "new right" would have room to expand their mandarin.

The part of the Jewish population that can most accurately be described as a community is, of course, the most religious, conservative Zionist part. There the Rue Copernic bombing, coming as the climax of a series of symbolic aggressions against Jewish buildings, gave a strong impetus to a budding paramilitary "self-defense" movement. Under the slogan, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," advocates of self-defense said the Jewish community itself must organize to strike down neo-Nazis. The essential position of this highly emotional movement is that France is hopeless, the French are hopeless, that Jews must fight to save themselves—with their ultimate fall-back position being Israel.

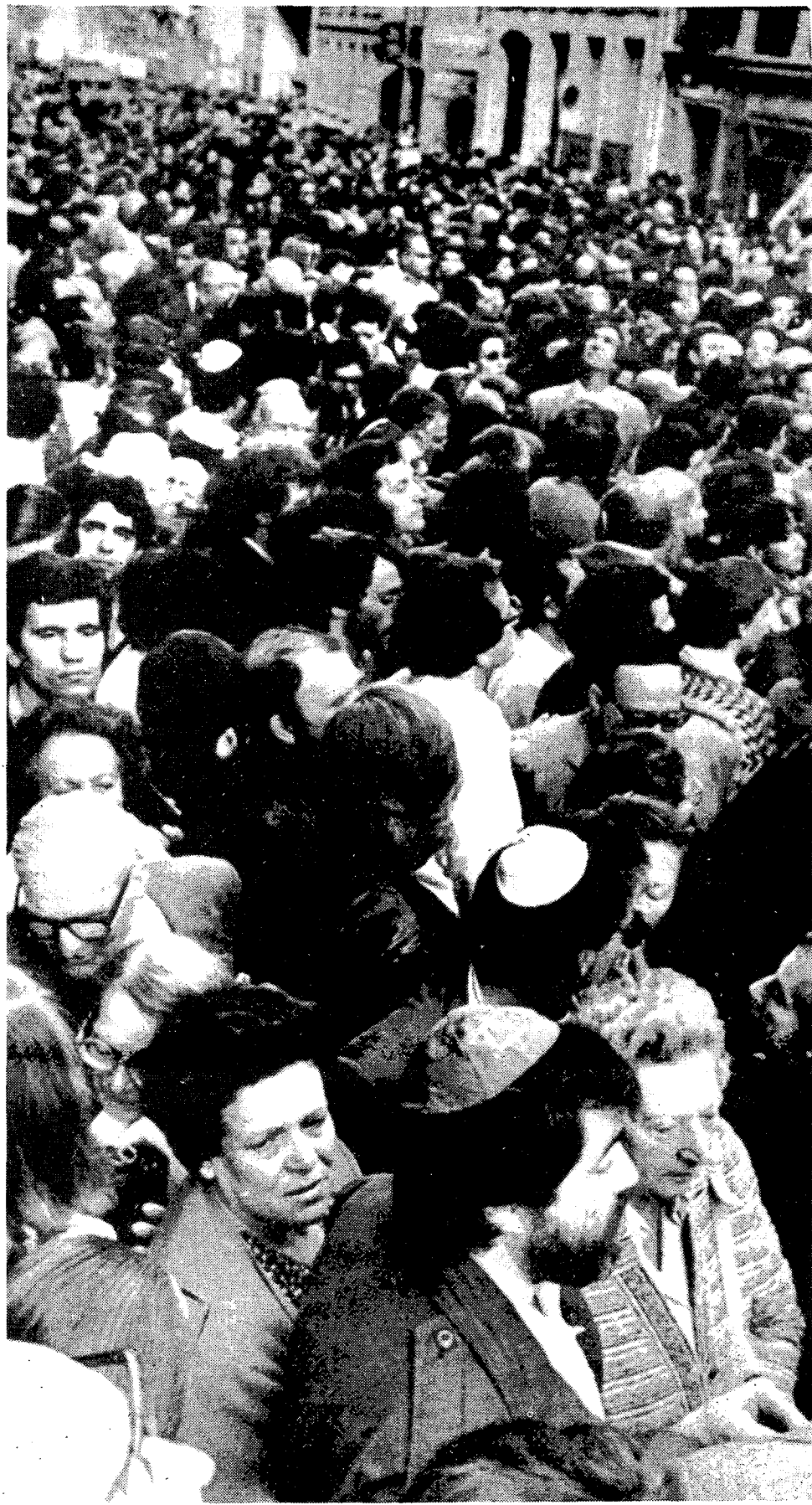
The strongest argument for this position was the failure of the French police to deter the resurgence of anti-Semitic aggressions or even to purge its own ranks of overt neo-Nazis. To the least politicized (always the majority of any population), this is seen as the "nature" of France reasserting itself. "The French" are anti-Semitic, now it's coming out. Indeed, modern anti-Semitism can be said to have been invented in France (and not Germany), but as part of a specific political attack on the republic, on liberal and left ideas and institutions, which has meant that anti-Semitism in France has always been vigorously combatted by the left, by liberals, by defenders of the republic.

A COMPLETELY NEW DANGER is the tendency of right-wing Zionism to isolate French Jews, to cut them off from the French left, which has traditionally been their ally, their haven, so much so that any attack on French Jews is also an attack on the French left.

And the French left today is "a people" (*le peuple de gauche*), a sensibility, without recognized leaders, because the vast majority of people on the left are disgusted with the partisan quarrels of the traditional parties, Communist and Socialist, that have allowed the right to stay in power.

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has liberal manners, but his presidency has marked the comeback of the old French right that supported Petain and scorned de Gaulle as a "British agent." His government has favored the operations of Robert Hersant, who began his career as a Petainist, and who has over the past few years bought up much of the French press, including the newspaper *Le Figaro*, whose weekend *Magazine* has become the main purveyor of "new right" ideas to the French public. His police, intent on accumulating files on leftists, has welcomed fascist informers as "motivated," while ignoring rightists. After the Rue Copernic bombing, police union officials complained publicly that police assigned to cases involving neo-Nazi violent crimes were handicapped in their work because the files were virtually bare.

The police union officials also complained that no effort was made to keep neo-Nazis out of the police. Inspector Paul Durand, who published pro-Nazi articles under his own name, was dismissed only after Italian police signaled his presence in the course of their investigation of the Bologna bombing. Of the 150



Thousands marched to protest the bombing.

Four people died and 16 were injured on Copernic.



Fascist Terror

By Diana Johnstone

The Paris headquarters of a neo-Nazi organization were ransacked during the wave of protests that followed the synagogue bombing.



Photos by
Wide World

members of a recently banned neo-Nazi group implicated in recent anti-Semitic attacks, 30 were policemen, according to the police union officials. In a front page article, the independent daily *Le Monde* recalled that "the extreme right was welcomed into the very entourage of the head of state himself when he was campaigning for election in 1974, to see to his *service d'ordre*" (the tough guys who police meetings, put up posters, and carry out other, less mentionable tasks).

There is perhaps one thing French Jews would agree on: this particular government does not inspire a strong sense of security. Prime Minister Raymond Barre's clumsy reaction to the bombing was seen as a clue to subconscious attitudes. Questioned by television reporters, an obviously flustered Barre deplored "odious attacks aimed at Jews in their synagogue, and which struck innocent French people in the street." Did Barre mean to imply that Jews were not "innocent"?

To show how seriously he was taking the matter, Justice Minister Alain Peyrefitte announced he was turning the case over to the State Security Court, a special body set up in 1963 to deal with crimes against the state. Human rights organizations and the left opposition saw this as a move to cover up aspects of the case, since State Security Court procedures allow the government to preserve a high degree of secrecy. On the other hand, Peyrefitte's announcement was applauded by France's most prominent neo-fascist politician, Jean-Marie Le Pen, head of the National Front.

Within a few days of the explosion, French police had put together the fragments of the motorcycle where the bomb had been left near the temple and identified its owner as a foreigner with lots of dollars, Cypriot identification papers and "a Middle Eastern accent." Former French Resistance leader Claude Bourdet warned of an effort underway to shift blame to foreigners. Certainly, he said, there were probably foreigners involved, as foreigners had been involved in other recent rightist bombings and assassinations throughout Europe, but this should not distract from the prime responsibility of French members of the "neo-Nazi International."

A spokesman for the small but relatively alert Unified Socialist Party (PSU) said that neo-Nazis who choose other targets in other countries, in France choose Jews because of a certain number of favorable conditions. These include the presence of a large Jewish population, the existence of both an anti-Arab racism and anti-Semitic tradition, and a government practicing a "policy of national reconciliation with the Petainist far right that permits infiltration of the state and police by overt neo-Nazis." The "internal rot" of the Giscardian regime makes it incapable of effectively combatting neo-fascism, according to this PSU analysis.

The suspicions of plots to shift the blame, in the manner of the Reichstag fire, are so strong concerning the Rue Copernic bombing that conflicting interpretations are almost certain to survive even arrest, trial and conviction of the guilty parties—especially if carried out in the secretive State Security Court.

In attempting to interpret the event, people tend to perceive it as falling into one or more of three series:

1. An international series of neo-fascist bombings, notably the Aug. 2 bombing of the Bologna railroad station that killed 84 people and the Sept. 27 bombing of the Munich beer festival. Bologna, Munich, Paris—Italy, Germany, France—a magic triad. In Italy, neo-fascists have been planting bombs in crowded places, killing people at random, for over a decade. The style seemed to be the same.

2. A French series of anti-Semitic aggressions, which have recently been growing in frequency and seriousness. Since 1976, there have been numerous attacks on the offices of the Movement Against Racism and For Friendship Between Peoples (MRAP) and the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA), defacings of Jewish cemeteries, firebombs thrown at synagogues, countless abusive and threatening messages. Just one week before the Rue Copernic bombing, these aggressions reached a crescendo in Paris as a synagogue, a nursery school, the memorial to the unknown Jewish martyr and a school were successively raked with machine-gun fire. There were no casualties, but these attacks fed mounting anxiety in the Jewish community.

3. Another French series of rightist crimes, including murders, that have gone unsolved and unpunished. Many of these crimes were clearly racist and were directed against Arab immigrant workers, and the fact that public reaction was far more indifferent than to the synagogue bombing risks being exploited to drive a wedge between communities whose unity is essential in combatting racism. Between 1971 and 1977, 70 Algerian immigrant workers were assassinated. On Dec. 31, 1973, the "Charles Martel group" attacked the Algerian consulate in Marseilles, killing four people and wounding 16. On May 4, 1978, something calling itself the "Delta commando" assassinated Egyptian-born Jewish communist Henri Curiel, who ran a network of political support to Third World liberation movements, and was particularly committed to Arab-Jewish reconciliation, at his home in Paris. Last Nov. 21, Pierre Goldman, who had won retrial and acquittal for murder in the course of an armed robbery after his book, *Memoirs of a Polish Jew Born in France*, contributed to a public support movement, was assassinated in a Paris street by unidentified killers calling themselves "Honor of the Police." In all, more than 150 unpunished fascist and racist crimes have been counted between June 1977 and September 1980.

THE RUE COPERNIC BOMBING was followed by massive protest demonstrations in all French cities. The biggest was in Paris on Oct. 7, with a couple of hundred thousand people. Even though the Paris demonstration was called by all the major political organizations from left to right, it was strikingly a demonstration of "the people of the left." But the left was visibly divided. And in addition to its usual Communist-Socialist divisions, there were the highly divisive slogans of certain Zionist organizations, notably Jewish Renewal, which has been particularly active since the bombing, equating Nazis with the Palestine Liberation Organization. While the left—that is, most of the demonstration—shouted slogans blaming the Giscard government and demanding resignation of Interior Minister Christian Bonnet and a purge of the police, small Zionist contingents situated the bombing in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Meanwhile, Begin blamed French anti-Semitism on France's "anti-Israel, pro-Arab policy," and the Israeli cabinet issued a statement insisting that there could be "no distinction between anti-Israelism, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism." Israeli newspaper editorials called on French Jewish youth to see to the defense of their community.

But how does "self-defense" work in practice? On the night of Oct. 7, in the Paris suburb of Neuilly, 84-year-old Charles Bousquet opened his front door

and had acid thrown in his face. A Star of David was traced on his wall, and a telephone caller claimed that a group calling itself the "Jewish Brigades" had punished Bousquet for his Nazi past. The trouble was, it was the wrong Bousquet; the real Nazi is named Rene and lives a few blocks away.

MRAP, which called the big Oct. 7 demonstration, complained of "attempts to arouse distrust and hostility toward Arab countries and particularly the Palestinian people. MRAP opposes all forms of transfer to France of the Middle East conflict." Numerous statements were issued by Algerian and other Arab organizations in France condemning anti-Semitic attacks and equating them with racist attacks against Arabs. The Union of Palestinian Students in France said that "these intolerable crimes are the result of a growing racism that also strikes the Arab community day after day. There should be no confusion between these anti-Semitic attacks and the struggle against Zionism. These odious acts have nothing to do with our combat for a lay and democratic Palestine, in which Jews, Christians, Moslems and non-believers will be able to live together with equal rights."

Zionists would, of course, hear none of that. At a big "Twelve Hours for Israel" rally in Paris last April, Israeli representatives and Jewish Renewal president Henri Hadjenberg had tried to promote the creation of an American-style "Jewish lobby" in France to use the supposed "Jewish vote" to change France's Middle East policy. But established Jewish organizations judged this idea contrary to the nature and interests of France's politically diverse and assimilated Jewish population. Now the idea is being brought up again.

The idea of a French "Jewish vote" is rejected as preposterous by Jews on the left. There can be no political common ground, they note, between the Baron Guy de Rothschild, who announced that "all terrorism has its origins in Marxism-Leninism," and the men and women who have spent their lives fighting for the interests of working people, who have defended the right of the Algerian people to self-determination; who have tried to defend North African immigrant workers from exploitation and racist brutality.

AT A STORMY MEETING organized by French Jews defining themselves as on the left, Jean Liberman said the right was making use of racism and xenophobia to stir up a "crisis racism" to divert attention and emotions from unemployment and economic decline. He also called for "vigilance faced with the maneuvers of Begin's men." "Whatever the origin of the attacks, we can only reject the identification being developed today between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism," he said. He denounced efforts to recuperate emotions to gain unconditional support for the Begin government. And he insisted on rejecting "all separatist temptations, all impulses to run away, impulses that are not at all justified by the real situation."

Hebrew professor Lilly Scherr passionately defended "the right to live where one chooses, the right to live in France, in diaspora." She said she wanted to maintain the tradition of Jews "who fight for civilization, not just for our own skins." "There is no security anywhere in the world today," she added.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet stressed the need not to make a mistake as to what era we are living in and who is our real enemy. "We cannot come out for a pluralist so-

Continued on page 14

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

CAMPUS GAYS

YOUR ARTICLE ON COLLEGE STUDENTS in America (*ITT*, Sept. 24) was an appropriate assessment of the political state of the straight college student generation. Another case would have to be made specifically for collegiate gay activists, who during the past decade have evolved as one of the most important politicized groups on college campuses.

The status and visibility of gays on campus is probably the largest social change to have taken place on campuses in the '70s. There should be no need to publish separate articles on gay student activists' politicization and straight student activists' politicization, yet it is inconceivable to me that any writer could visit college campuses, investigate their political climate, and not find space in four pages of print to include a single word on the subject of gay activists' political involvement on campus. To the hundreds of thousands of gay students who have been politicized and come out of the closets with the help of the more than 200 gay organizations on campuses nationwide, the subject is far from insignificant.

Moeborg writes that 30,000 people—many of them students—marched on Washington to protest the draft last spring. He neglects to recall that last year over 100,000 people—many students—marched on Washington for gay rights. The university from which I recently graduated (the State University of New York-Binghamton) had a gay alliance, two gay radio shows, and published a national progressive college gay newspaper. In addition to this, a majority of the politically active student leaders at the school were also gay.

—Jonathan Greenberg
New York

Moeborg replies: Several important areas

of student politics got short shrift (see earlier letters for other examples; and I'll add, before someone else writes in, that there could have been extensive coverage of Latino student politics). My impression from visiting campuses was that, although gay organizations thrive and have transformed gay student life and general student consciousness about homosexuality, on most campuses they are less political than Greenberg reports and more social or service centers (not unlike the change in many black student groups).

THE NEW WITHIN THE OLD

I WAS IMPRESSED BY DAVID MOEBORG'S "Cracking Campus Cynicism" (*ITT*, Sept. 24), but disturbed by paragraphs near the end that seemed to criticize those who consider themselves political but who are "suspicious of organization and hierarchy." It also seemed to lump them in with apolitical don't-kill-animals-type vegetarians and gotta-get-away-from-it-all simple-livers. Suspicion of hierarchy and certain types of organization is quite understandable given the history of the left and the following political premises:

1. Our capitalist system is undesirable not only because it concentrates power and wealth in the hands of a few, but because it encourages, glorifies, and rewards dominance and competition rather than cooperation and "consensus" with other people, other beings and the natural environment. In the last decade, environmentalists, feminists and spiritualists have argued this viewpoint, and it is now generally accepted as a political goal by progressives.

2. Ends do not justify means. This idea, advanced by nonviolent activists, demands that progressives not wait until after the revolution, but make and

live the revolution now in their own lives and movements, and in the wider world as they are able.

3. Building alternative institutions and an alternative culture are crucial to social change. People will not venture out from the precarious niches in which they live until the niche becomes unbearable (in which case they usually become totally disheartened) or until they see a realistic, practical and inspiring alternative.

In the context of these premises, suspicion of hierarchically-organized left groups is commendable, and development of alternative institutions, communities and culture is a political act. It is not exactly "politics in the sense of collective organization, protest or influence on government" as Moeborg defines it, but in the long run, it may accomplish as much as traditional action.

Rather than seeing "alternatives" as competition with socialism for students' allegiance as Moeborg does, I see them as complementary parts of a social change movement that is strengthened by its diversity.

—Randy Schutt
Stanford, Calif.

Moeborg replies: Democracy does not preclude hierarchy; indeed, all organization implies some kind of hierarchy. But there are different kinds of organizations (and hierarchies), some more democratic than others. And hierarchy of organization need not preclude egalitarianism in income, political rights, lifestyles and general cultural milieu. Also, cooperation beyond the smallest group requires organization and hierarchy, although it need not involve bureaucracy, bloated or otherwise. Unfortunately, too many of the "anti-hierarchical" activists are ultimately anti-organizational and thus reduce their effectiveness.

Likewise, building alternatives can serve as an element of politics of opposition, but equally they can be little niches for comfortable retreat that are simply "another way of doing things" while Exxon and General Foods continue their domination. Building alternatives alone has little hope of challenging the overall organization of capitalist society.

The potential contribution of alternative institutions and of the insistently democratic, egalitarian movements to creation of a good, socialist society seems to me quite significant, but not without organization and without directly contesting capitalist wealth, power and principles.

VIOLENCE IS THE REFORM

THE TITLE OF DAVID HELVARG'S otherwise excellent article on El Salvador gave the mistaken impression that the reforms and violence in that nation are at odds with each other, and that the reforms are essentially good while the violence is, of course, bad. Fortunately, the article does not support the view that "violence mars reforms," which is the position that the State Department would have us believe.

The land reform in El Salvador is part of a rural pacification, counter-insurgency strategy, tested in Vietnam and now being applied to El Salvador. In Vietnam the strategy was carried out by the Phoenix Operation and a program of land reform combined into one overall civil/military strategy. The Phoenix program was responsible for the murder of some 30,000 Viet Cong or their suspected sympathizers. The land reform program was called Land-to-the-Tiller.

In El Salvador, the land reform program is once again known as Land-to-the-Tiller, and it is being used once again as the U.S. desperately tries to prop up another right-wing military regime devoid of public support.

The administration would like us to believe that "fundamental socioeconomic change" is being carried out under the present government. But the reforms are a cover for intensified oppression and the spread of terror throughout the countryside. In a mo-

ment of candor, John Bushnell, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, stated to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "I would like to stress that, contrary to a widespread misperception, our security assistance proposals are neither unrelated to nor contradictory to our support for reform in El Salvador."

Already this year more than 6,000 Salvadoreans have died, the vast majority of them killed by government security forces and paramilitary units. To stop this bloodbath, we must end the U.S. role in supporting El Salvador's junta and destroy the myth that the land reform is anything but a license for further oppression.

—Peter Shiras
Washington, D.C.

STRUGGLE

DAVID MONTGOMERY'S RENDERING of the history of the Nonpartisan League in his "The Farmer-Labor Party's Legacy to the Socialist Left" (*ITT*, Oct. 8) is based on such a hefty misreading of the historical evidence that one is left to wonder what Nonpartisan League he is referring to.

By concentrating on the alleged leaders of the NPL (Arthur Le Sueur, though a significant American Socialist leader, was at the very best only a minor League figure), he misses the movement entirely. The NPL did not come about because of the actions of North Dakota Socialists who "realized that the exploitation of the state's farmers by grain dealers, banks and railroads had enraged life-long Republicans." It was the result of a decade-long struggle by North Dakota members of the American Society of Equity, a farm organization, to gain a measure of control over marketing conditions. Indeed, those North Dakota Socialists who helped to form the League had been booted out of the state's Socialist Party for being too "reformist."

Similarly, Professor Montgomery's concentration on "what conditions" led to the rise and fall of certain movements causes the history of the movements themselves to become invisible. To put it bluntly, "hard times" do not create social movements; people do. In the case of the NPL, there is abundant economic evidence that the "times" were getting better for North Dakota farmers directly prior to and during the rise of the movement.

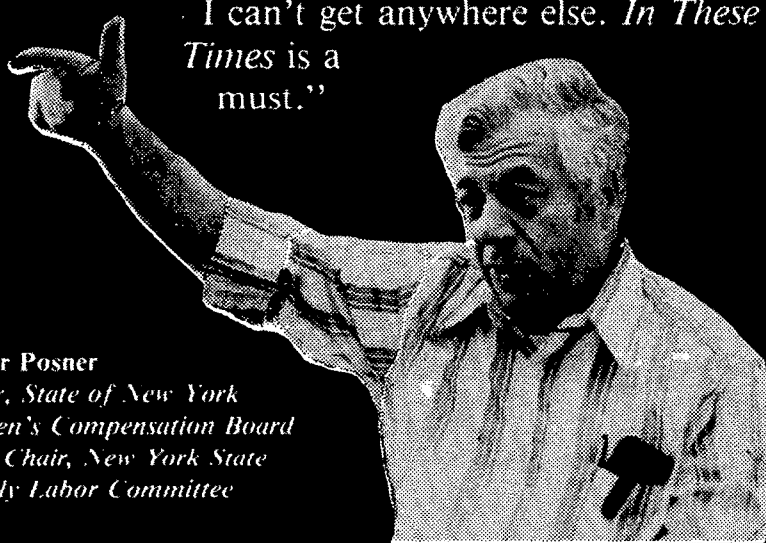
While granting the place of the NPL in the history of democracy, Montgomery's designation of the League as one of a number of "purely electoral movements that emphasized the immediate needs of the working people" is ludicrous. The NPL was much more than that. It was a social movement through which thousands of ordinary Americans in 17 states experienced democracy in their attempts to take control of their lives. In North Dakota, it served as an entry point for women to gain political rights, diligently fought for free speech, challenged the basic assumptions of the American economic system, and implemented changes that have affected the lives of North Dakotans for generations.

—Scott Ellsworth
Washington, D.C.

Editor's note: Arthur Townley, a long-time Socialist, was the founder and indispensable organizer of the NPL. Without his initiative there would have been no League. Any successful electoral movement must be "much more than that," as elections are the expression of support for social and political views and programs. A candidate can win an election without representing a broader social movement, but a new party or a state-wide movement like the NPL cannot.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Seymour Posner
Member, State of New York
Workmen's Compensation Board
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PERSPECTIVES

IMF policy led to Bolivian coup

By Popular Economics Research Group

WHAT DO JAMAICA, BRITAIN, POLAND, TURKEY AND BOLIVIA all have in common? If you guessed they are all nations you're half right. The other half of the answer is that each of these sovereign nations must clear its economic policies with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). ¶The accumulation of huge foreign debt, and inability to pay it off, has forced these countries to renegotiate their loans from foreign banks and international agencies. As a condition for granting further credits, the IMF has demanded implementation of new policies from each debtor government. These policies have basically been austerity measures—limiting wage increases, tightening monetary policy, etc. In Britain, these measures have resulted in large-scale unemployment. In Poland, they resulted in a large-scale strike. The Manley government in Jamaica was forced to declare new elections when it rejected meeting IMF conditions. And in Bolivia and Turkey, the inability of democratically elected governments to impose these measures paved the road for coups.

Bolivia.

On July 17, 1980, Bolivian armed forces, led by General Garcia Meza, seized state power from the "caretaker" government of President Lidia Gueiler. The stated purpose of the *coup d'etat* was to prevent Hernan Siles Zuazo, who had won a plurality of the vote in the June presidential elections, from taking office. Siles Zuazo, candidate of the Democratic People's Unity (UDP), a broad leftist coalition, had been prevented a year earlier from taking power by a military coup that annulled the results of popular elections. This time, the junta apparently does not intend to hold new elections. The new dictator, Garcia Meza, has vowed to hold on to the reins of government for "as long as is necessary to eliminate the Marxist cancer, be it five, 10 or 20 years." By "Marxist cancer" Garcia Meza means organized labor. One of the first moves of the new military regime was raiding the headquarters of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB). Leaders were arrested and several executed. A general strike, called to protest the coup, ended when workers were forced back to their jobs at gunpoint.

Why the coup and why the violent attack on working people? The answers to these questions lie not only in Bolivia's own history, but also in the recent demands made on Bolivia by the IMF.

Economic crisis and the IMF.

Bolivia, one of the poorest countries in Latin America, has a per capita gross national product (GNP) of only \$485 per year. Its income distribution is among the most unequal, with the proportion of national income accruing to the wealthiest 5 percent greater than in almost any other Latin American country. A major cause of its underdevelopment is excessive reliance on the production of one export commodity, tin.

Bolivia is the world's second largest producer of tin, which for decades has accounted for over 50 percent of Bolivia's exports. Other minerals (and now some oil and natural gas) account for the rest. This "monoproduction" continues—in 1978, tin brought in \$268.7 million of the total export earnings of \$466.5 million—with severe consequences for Bolivian society.

Many developing countries seek to finance development through the export

of primary (unprocessed) products. The export earnings are supposed to provide an investment fund in "hard" foreign currency that can be used to buy capital goods and, hence, further industrialization. If the prices for a country's export products drop too low, all profits on these products may be eliminated, rendering accumulation and industrialization more difficult, if not impossible.

The Bolivian economy is especially sensitive to price changes in tin. It is estimated that a one cent change in the market price of tin (per fine pound) leads to an increase or decrease of Bolivia's foreign exchange earnings of more than \$500,000. Because Bolivia is a high-cost producer with a correspondingly low profit margin, drops in the price of tin can easily wipe out its profits. This has led to a constant effort, often through the use of overt aggression on the part of the Bolivian military, to keep tin miners' wages down and thus insure profitability.

The development model described above, financing industrialization through export earnings, hinged on one key factor: that trade deficits incurred in one period, from the importation of capital goods, would be balanced later by trade surpluses as developing countries began to export industrial products. For Bolivia and for most of the Third World, this has not happened. In Bolivia, exports continue to lag behind imports and the gap is increasing. By 1979, the annual trade deficit was up to \$154 million.

In order to finance the deficit and public expenditures within Bolivia aimed at maintaining social peace during the electoral process, Bolivia increased its long-term foreign borrowing 202 percent in 1979. The commercial foreign debt has jumped to \$850 million and the total external public and private debt is estimated to be around \$2 billion. [To understand the magnitude of this debt, consider that Bolivia's 1977 GNP was estimated by the World Bank to be \$2.46 billion (at current prices).] With a dismal economic growth rate (only 1.2 percent in 1979) and with industry operating at only 53 percent of capacity (first quarter, 1980) Bolivia has little chance of producing a trade surplus with which to repay this staggering foreign debt. Instead, in late 1979 and early 1980 Bolivian financial authorities sought to refinance 85 percent of Bolivia's 1980 debt maturities (\$172 million).

With the need to refinance, the IMF entered the picture. Established after World War II to help countries fix exchange rates and to lend money to governments in need of currency for short periods, the IMF has taken a leading role in arranging international loans. Acting as an "impartial" investigator, the IMF sizes up prospective borrowers and lets private banks know whether their loans will be safe. If the debtor countries run into trouble repaying their loans, the IMF insists on stringent policies as a

condition for refinancing the original loans.

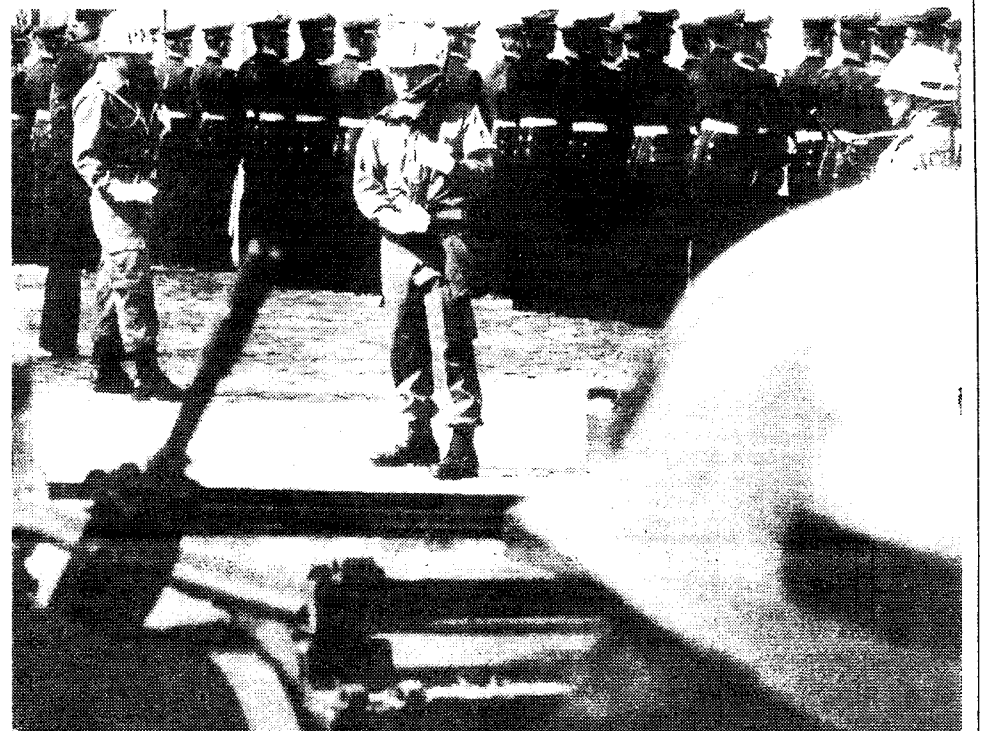
In Bolivia in 1979, the IMF insisted on a devaluation of the peso in return for a \$200 million credit to help the balance of payments. The devaluation, the result of "floating" the peso, was intended to cheapen (and therefore increase) exports, make more expensive (and therefore decrease) imports and thus reduce the trade deficit. In early 1980, under Gueiler, Bolivia's Minister of Finance signed a letter of intent with the IMF detailing internal changes in the Bolivian economy that would be made in return for a guarantee of IMF financial support.

The changes the IMF sought and the devaluation it promoted had one basic consequence: the reduction of workers' living standards. With hyperinflation as a result of the devaluation already eroding the real wage (the cost of living rose 21.57 percent in December 1979, the month after the devaluation), the IMF demanded that investment be stepped up to 21-22 percent of GNP, savings stepped up to 16-17 percent, and that Bolivia begin a program to attract a net inflow of capital, i.e., encourage investment by multinational corporations. The investment and savings increases demanded were only possible through reducing national consumption. Further, the IMF extracted a promise from Bolivia to hold

have been killed. Amnesty International reports that the Bolivian Army killed or abducted ("disappeared") 900 people in a raid on the town of Caracoles. The brutality of the coup flew in the face of U.S. "human rights" policy. Consequently, the U.S. has cut \$56 million in aid and will likely "dump" tin on the world market (depressing the price) to punish Bolivia's new rulers.

Bolivia's generals, however, have not been without support. Other military dictatorships have offered assistance. In particular, Argentina's junta, rumored to have been instrumental in planning the Bolivian coup, has extended \$200 million in financial assistance and offered to lend \$50 million more. Cocaine dealers also helped out with a reported \$100 million. The dealers flourished under the old dictatorship of Banzer and feared possible suppression by a democratically elected reform government.

Amidst the terror and confusion the IMF is keeping a low profile. The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (institutions dominated by the U.S. and closely related to the IMF) approved \$139 million in loans to the new regime. But the IMF and a consortium of private banks have postponed agreement to refinance Bolivia's foreign debt. Bankers, ever cautious and pragmatic, are simply waiting for details on



Resistance to IMF demands that working people carry the burden brought out the generals.

down public sector wages and, in the letter of intent, required that Bolivia "ensure that increases in wages and salaries in 1980 do not give rise to inflationary pressures." The basic condition of IMF support becomes clear: Bolivia was ordered to shift the balance of payments burden onto workers.

Led by the COB, workers resisted. Having gained strength and forged important political alliances with peasants in the democratic period of 1978-80, the COB tried to make up for the loss in real wages caused by devaluation and the resulting hyperinflation. Under intense pressure, Gueiler's Labor Minister agreed to an increase in the monthly minimum wage to 6,800 pesos (\$272). While buying desperately needed political support for Gueiler's regime, the new minimum wage came at a time when 60 percent of Bolivian workers were earning less than 3,000 pesos monthly. This was not exactly the belt-tightening on the part of the working class that the IMF had demanded in the letter of intent.

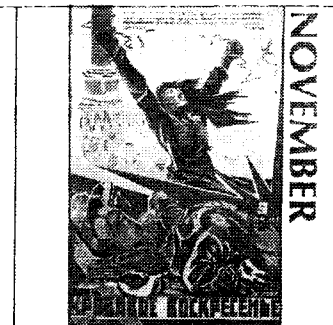
In July, with working-class power increasing and Siles Zuazo and his leftist coalition about to take power, the conditions were set for a coup to "save the nation" from financial insolvency and default.

The July 17 coup has been bloody even by Bolivian standards. The Sixth World Congress of Economists released a statement claiming at least 3,000 prisoners have been taken and 1,500 citizens

the new government's economic programs.

The Bolivian people now find themselves ruled by generals whose major support comes from foreign dictatorships and domestic drug dealers. The fate of the bankers' money is not yet certain. What is certain is that the price of solvency in Bolivia is being paid in the currency of human life and liberty. ■

IMAGES OF STRUGGLE



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INPRINT

POLITICAL ECONOMY

The road to socialism

The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

By John D. Stephens
Macmillan, 231 pp., \$12.50
Distributed by Humanities Press

By Susan Cowell

For Americans, being number one meant never having to learn from others. However, the belated recognition by American business that it is being surpassed in world markets by other industrial nations has produced a sudden interest in the economic and industrial policies of our rivals. Conservatives can hardly find these comparisons encouraging. As Lester Thurow points out in *Zero-Sum Society*, the countries out-competing us generally have higher taxation, more regulation and greater income equality than we do.

An analysis of developments in other industrial capitalist countries can provide the American left with far more than ammunition against neo-conservative panaceas. In *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*, John Stephens argues that social democratic experiments in some capitalist countries—notably Sweden—have already begun a transition to socialism.

For Stephens, the development of the social democratic welfare state in Sweden strengthened the position of labor in Swedish society and led to the formulation of an explicitly socialist program. His analysis of the shifting class alliances that provided the basis for Swedish social democracy is a valuable contribution to understanding this most progressive of capitalist states. However, the originality of his argument lies in comparing Sweden with other advanced capitalist countries. He shows that Sweden is not an exception but rather the most advanced example of a social democratic model developed in a number of European states.

The international comparisons are based on correlations of a wide range of social, political and economic statistics for 17 countries (Japan is the only major omission). The statistical methodology is confusing for a non-sociologist, but the broad conclusions are clear and compelling.

Unionization.

The major result is that the seven countries in which union bargaining is centralized for the entire economy (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands) are distinguishable as a group in virtually every comparison from the other industrial nations. These seven countries have higher levels of unionization of the work force, more welfare spending, strong social democratic parties, more progressive taxation, lower rates of unemployment and greater equality of income distribution. In other words, they have created progressive welfare states to a degree not achieved elsewhere.

There is, of course, no single cause. Although Stephens stresses bargaining centralization, this

centralization is itself the product of high unionization and of social democratic governments. However, it is political factors that set these seven nations apart. Stephens also groups the 17 nations by degree of economic concentration, but while economic concentration is a prerequisite for centralization of bargaining, countries with economic concentration but decentralized unions are virtually indistinguishable from countries with decentralized economies.

The important point here is that the growth of the welfare state and of progressive reforms is based on the independent political organization of labor, not on the internally-generated needs of advanced capitalism. Stephens finds no correlation between strictly economic measures of development and the growth of the progressive welfare state. He questions whether levels of non-military public spending ranging from nearly half of national income in Sweden, Norway and Denmark to under a quarter for the U.S. and Switzerland can represent simply the functional requirements of capitalism. The ability of capitalism to adapt to the growing power of labor and even achieve greater productive efficiency does not lessen the significance of labor's gain.

Developed capitalist countries have shown increasingly divergent patterns in the post-war period as political successes by labor in some countries facilitated further achievements in those countries. In 1950 unionization rates in the seven states in Stephens' progressive group did not differ as a group from the capitalist norm. However, between 1950 and 1970, six of the seven made substantial gains in unionization, while the 10 countries with decentralized unions experienced stagnant or declining rates.

While Stephens' omission of Japan as atypical is understandable, the Japanese case also tends to support Stephens' general thesis that all real gains for labor are the result of labor's efforts. The popular perception of Japanese business as paternalistic obscures the history of labor struggle that lies behind the

relative harmony in current business-labor relations. Job security and relative equality within the Japanese firm are legacies of the post-war period of radical unionism suppressed with assistance from the U.S. occupation force, not gifts from paternalistic executives, and they have been preserved by unions that still have considerable bargaining power.

Social compact.

Centralized bargaining is the basis for the social compact that Stephens argues leads ultimately to a demand for socialism. A social compact is not cooperativeness in industrial relations; it is a nationwide bargain between labor and capital with the government as a natural third party. The agreement determines income distribution for the economy as a whole by embracing not merely wages and benefits, but prices and profits

Finally, Stephens argues, when wage restraint is urged for the sake of greater investment, labor unions will be required to take the process one step further and demand control of investment that is paid for by the workers' wage restraint. This led in Sweden to the Meidner plan for employee investment funds in which a percentage of profits each year would become a union-owned fund for reinvestment.

It is on this proposal that Stephens relies for evidence that a gradual transition to socialism is possible. There is little reason for outright optimism. The Social Democrats lost power in 1976, not long after the Meidner proposal became public. Moreover, even if the present stalemate resolves itself into a clear socialist mandate, there is no guarantee that socialism would not precipitate massive capital flight.

For the U.S., the situation is much more gloomy. Not only is our labor movement weak and a social democratic party non-existent, but the objective conditions under which the Swedish model has developed do not exist. All of the countries that have carried out a progressive social compact are small, relatively homogeneous and heavily dependent on foreign trade.

The social compact has been facilitated in these countries by recognition of the need to main-

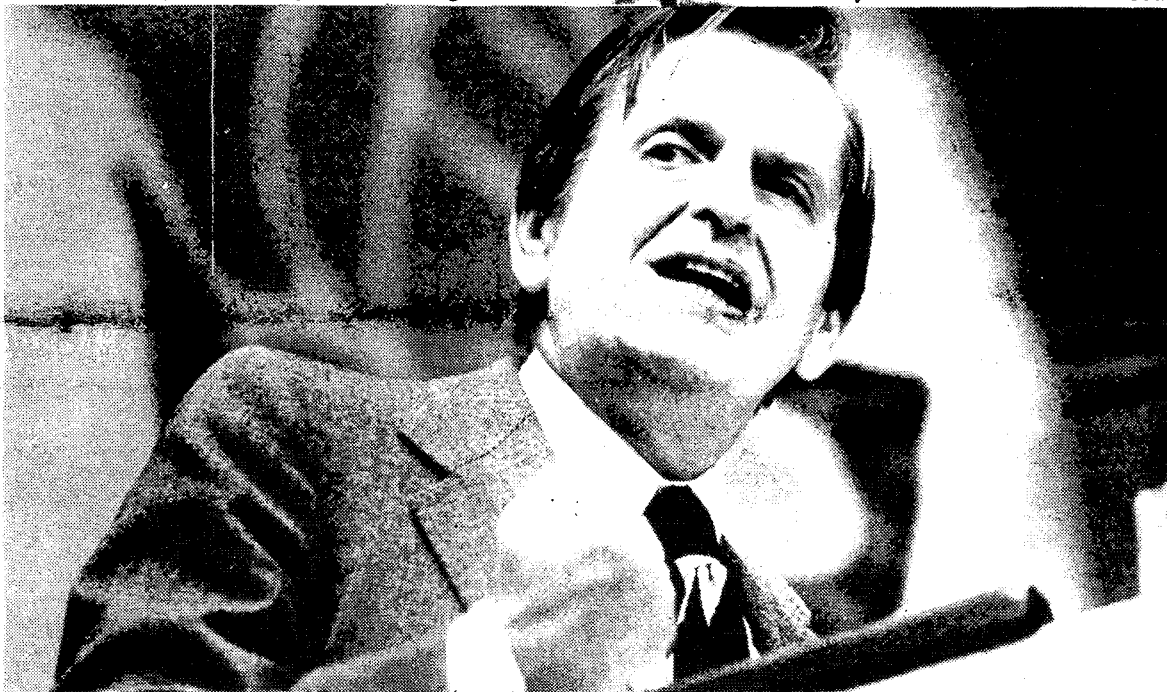
Carter administration acknowledges the necessity of bargaining for political influence in exchange for wage restraint.

Even a tentative step toward a social compact offers two gains for labor: an acceptance of labor's right to bargain and an expansion of the issues subject to bargaining. *Business Week's* recent reindustrialization issue admitted that "the most successful instances of labor-management cooperation occur where unions have been accepted as a fixture in corporate life." This view is not likely to find rapid acceptance in the business community. But without a solid front of business opposition, the labor move-

Some social democracies are more equal than others —Sweden most of all.

ment might be able to enact the labor law reforms needed for a New Deal-style surge in labor organizing.

The U.S., far from being the leading capitalist country, is in many areas the least advanced.



Olaf Palme, leader of the Social Democratic Party in Sweden.

and public spending.

There are several reasons why a social compact tends to enhance labor's power. The most important is that by merging wage policy, national economic policy and social policy, the unions are politicized. In addition, economy-wide bargaining requires and reinforces a high level of unionization and promotes equality, rather than competition, among workers.

tain international competitiveness. This same recognition in the U.S. has created interest in the social compact approach for the first time. Labor can no longer limit itself to bargaining for nominal wage increases if those wages and its members' jobs are being destroyed by inflation and unemployment. Lane Kirkland's support for the very weak national accord negotiated between labor and the

There should be much for the left to learn from even the small advances of large, diverse countries more like the U.S. Might Canada's New Democratic Party serve as a model? How has co-determination worked in Germany? Like all good books, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism* left me wanting more. ■ Susan Cowell works for a consulting group that specializes in industrial policy.

Short Notice

CAITS Quarterly

Voice Newspapers, 38 Corbyn St., London N4 3BZ, England \$11/year

In 1974 workers at the Lucas Aerospace factory in England were faced with layoffs as a result of military spending cutbacks. They responded by drafting, with the help of outside academics, an alternative plan for production that emphasized useful and ecologically sound products and employment of the workers' skills. CAITS, the Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems, was formed from that alliance. It has

published numerous studies on "worker plans" and now offers a four-page tabloid quarterly on the Lucas plan, similar efforts elsewhere and the significance for unionism and left politics of this fascinating worker initiative. DM

Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767-1878

By Michael Stephen Hindus
University of North Carolina Press, 285 pp., \$20
Writing sophisticated comparative history, Hindus offers a

compelling social interpretation of why the centralized criminal justice system of Massachusetts assumed a shape so different from that of South Carolina's loosely organized judicial-penal apparatus. The central argument—that class control in a free labor economy and racial domination in a slave society molded the courts, police and prisons of Massachusetts and South Carolina respectively—is developed with force and subtlety. Especially provocative are the sections on honor and duelling and on labor discipline. DRR

Dance of the Tiger: A Novel of the Ice Age

By Bjorn Kurten
Pantheon, 255 pp., \$10.95
This absorbing "pre-historical" novel recounts a scientifically reasonable version of what happened when Cro-Magnon and

Neanderthal peoples—two subspecies of human beings—met, and why the Neanderthals disappeared. If the book, written by one of Europe's leading paleontologists, sometimes seems overplotted, two advantages compensate the reader. The first is a better understanding of that era, including being disabused of some favorite myths about our origins. The second is a better understanding of the imagination needed for scientific research. (This book in combination with P.B. Medawar's *Advice to a Young Scientist* would make an excellent Christmas or graduation gift for aspiring researchers.) The engaging introduction by Stephen Jay Gould (*Natural History*) previews some of the issues. PA

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David Moberg, David Roediger

ROCK MUSIC

Local boys pump iron

By Eric Leif Davin

A working-class hero is something to be, but John Lennon doesn't sing that song anymore. His first album in five years (which he is presently recording in New York City) will concentrate on his and Yoko's sexual fantasies.

And, while Bob Marley and the Wailers still urge us to "Get up, stand up, don't give up the fight," the super-syncopated beat of Jamaican reggae has never captured the ears of an American mass audience.

Now, in Pittsburgh, the Iron City Houserockers—a band rock critic Greil Marcus termed "the best hard rock band in the country"—are producing an elusive blend of art and political passion.

Coming out of a blues background and a scuffling history of jamming in Pittsburgh's bars, the Houserockers sound like a rougher, mean streets version of Boston's J. Geils Band. (Lead singer Joe Grushecky even sports the omnipresent shades of J. Geils' Peter Wolf.) The sound is ass-kicking macho rock'n'roll and only Bruce Springsteen's paeans to working-class angst rival their lyrics.

In *Love's So Tough* (1979),

the first Houserocker LP, each track reflected an obsession with acceptance and carried an undertone of insecurity concealed by anger.

Have a Good Time (But Get

Out Alive) is pure anger tempered only by desperation. Every song but one ("Price of Love") is a rock manifesto for Joe Six-Pack, the young worker trapped in the steel mills of the Iron City.



Iron City Houserockers, macho men with a mean street sound.

The Houserockers savage the hypnotizing influence of TV, booze, and the night-time bars they inhabit. The world of the Houserockers is one of sleazy honky tonks and dead-end choices. The old men live at Dom's Cafe recounting tales of World War II heroism. The young slide down to Junior's Bar searching for a one-night rendezvous with a 17-year-old with fake I.D. "all sleazed up and looking good." Their girl friends are overweight, out of fashion, nine-to-five Pittsburgh check-out girls rather than funky Cambridge waitresses in donut shops.

And tonight is all that matters. Tomorrow isn't worth a damn.

"Pumpin' Iron" could be autobiography. Grushecky growls like Geils' Wolf and Magic Dick could be playing the harp, but only the Iron City could produce the eerie atmosphere of driving danger and desperation. The iron they pump isn't found in a gym's weight room. It's the local Iron City Beer and it's only another narcotic to get them through the night:

*Jimmy was a rocker, oh how he liked to rock.
Gonna go out tonight and make a little noise.
He was a steel-working man just like his daddy was.
Didn't have a choice, just doing as he's told.
Pop a pill. Drink some whiskey.
Get a little wasted, but that's alright.
That poor boy got to live his whole lifetime
In just one night.
Tonight.
Pumpin' iron, sweatin' steel.
Hearts of stone dressed to kill.
Pumpin' iron, sweatin' steel.
You can never understand the way I feel.*

But the working-class heroes

of the Houserockers' vision aren't dead yet. In the best song on the album, "We're Not Dead Yet," the Houserockers produce a rock'n'roll anthem of defiance and vengeance accented by the ominous reverberations of driving guitars and seething vocals. It's an angry cry of the heart for all the dying steel towns of America's industrial heartland:

*This town's been dying since the day I was born.
Shops all boarded up and houses lying in ruin.
We got our backs to the wall, got to find a way to win.*

It's a rock manifesto for Joe Six-Pack in Iron City.

*Time's running out, night's closing in.
Take it to the streets, give your senator a call
Rip up all the subways, tear down the golden walls.
A lot of people here just kiss their lives goodbye.
They just sit back and take it, never stop to wonder why.
They're staring at their TV sets, that's where they're coming from.
For them the fight is over, ours is yet to come.
We're not dead yet
We're still alive
We have to struggle to survive.
We got to take all we can get
Don't count us out
We're not dead yet.*

For the Houserockers, rock is the only alternative to "Working hard in the steel mill/Working hard to stay high."

TOPICAL SONG

Funny songs about sex roles

By Emily Friedman

It seems to be part and parcel of progressive thought that topical songs are only written about a select group of topics: the problems of working people such as miners and farmworkers, civil rights struggles on the part of various groups, wars and revolutions, class differences, and so on—the litany is familiar to most of us. As the decades pass, new subjects appear on the horizon, usually accompanying new social movements, and they eventually become incorporated as Official Topics. Songs about women's battles, for example, although they form a most lively and prolific branch of topical music, have only come into their own in the past 10 or 15 years. At the same time, songs concerning things that are no longer topical—protest songs specific to the Spanish-American War, for example—tend to fall into disuse. The half-life of the topical song is often quite short.

It takes an exceptional writer to produce topical songs about off-beat subjects, and an even more exceptional one to produce songs that will last more than a year or two. Woody Guthrie was an example of a great master at this double skill: the many songs he wrote about a particular drought during the Depression live on, being rewritten and recast and used over and over again. I think that several of the

Peter Alsop can get hundreds of people to sing along happily with "It's only a wee-wee, so who cares?"

songs written by Si Kahn of North Carolina will enjoy the same longevity, as will many of the works of Sara Ogun Gunning and Aunt Molly Jackson. I'm also beginning to think the same of Peter Alsop's work.

Alsop is a singer and writer concerned with liberation from sexual stereotyping. He is a feminist, a supporter of civil rights for homosexuals, an ardent crusader for the rights of children, and an important figure in the growing movement for men's consciousness. What sets him apart from most other musicians writing and singing about sexual liberation issues is that he addresses *all* people. The underlying message that he wants to convey is that we are not going to even begin to fulfill our individual potentials—or accomplish anything as a society—as long as we insist on labeling each other according to genitalia or sexual preference. It's not a novel idea, but it certainly has not been the basis of much music.

There is, of course, more than a bit of sensitivity—on the left and outside of it—about sex and its related problems. And it must be hard for those who have not seen him do it to imagine Alsop,

standing on the stage of a folk club in Southern California, leading an audience sing-along on an outrageous song called "My Secret," which involves the confessions of a macho-type truck driver who likes to wear dresses in private. The ditty also features a number of other eccentric—but harmless (and that's the point)—things that people do when they're by themselves. It would be hard to come up with more delicate subjects, but Alsop turns them into sing-alongs, laugh-alongs, and audience participation events. This past summer he had hundreds of people at the Winnipeg Folk Festival singing along on one of his musical pleas for an end to the sexual stereotyping of children, a number entitled "It's Only a Wee-Wee, So Who Cares?"

Alsop is a born humorist, and he approaches the audience with a we're-all-friends-here confidence that makes everyone comfortable enough to welcome him. His thoroughly professional stagecraft—the product of many years as a successful Shakespearean actor, a vocation he still pursues—doesn't hurt, either. And he can play the iconoclast without appearing bitter or nasty about it.

He has his serious moments, of course. One of his best pieces, "Draw the Line," is a deadly-serious set of musings inspired by his young daughter. He got to wondering about what kind of world she will inherit—whether there will be anything left to inherit, in fact—and wrote "My girl can save the whales—if there are any left to save...." Strong stuff. He has also written one of the best songs I've ever heard about failing marriages, a thoroughly depressing piece called "Snake Dance," which in no uncertain terms portrays the plight of a woman whose husband's callousness is still not enough to make her leave him. An early song, "Strength," muses on his own parents' marriage and the different paths his mother and father took in life. And "It's My

Body" is an angry lashing-out at those legislators and others who would like to dictate what we may and may not do with ourselves; it does not specifically address abortion, or sexual preferences, or any one subject, and in being general becomes much more powerful.

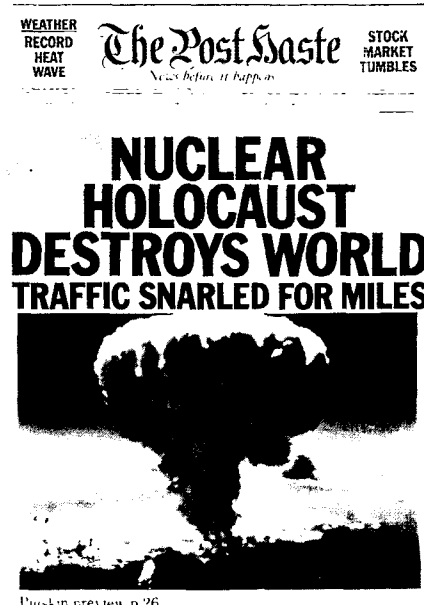
It is perhaps his wonderful sense of humor that keeps Alsop on an even keel. It is certainly one of the major contributing factors to his being one of the most accessible—and therefore successful—topical singers working today.

Recommended recordings: Peter Alsop (Peaceable 0698), *Asleep at the Helm* (Flying Fish 034), *Draw the Line* (Flying Fish 223). Emily Friedman is the editor of *Come for to Sing*, a Chicago folk music magazine.

CULTURE SHOCK

HIGHER IRRATIONALITY

Psychiatrist Robert Dupont, a former director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse, informed workers for the Bechtel Power Corporation (largest builder of nuclear power plants in the world) that fear of nuclear power plants is like an irrational fear of flying in an airplane or driving on a freeway. He conquered his own fear, Zodiac reports, by visiting Three Mile Island and looking into its core.



Godard

Continued from page 16
24 frames per second.

Some scenes are also social metaphors: a prostitute attempting to work as an independent is beaten by pimps who tell her that nobody is free except the banks. In a related scene the "patron" or boss of a giant multinational, a flunky and two female prostitutes are linked in a Rube Goldberg assemblyline. The boss is at the apex of the sexual hierarchy.

The audience at Lincoln Center responded to these scenes with cynical laughter and comfortable recognition. They didn't identify with the boss or the pimp. But they didn't seem to be identifying with the prostitute either. The point of view of the film was open. Passive. Acquiescent.

Interview.

The lobby of the Excelsior, a luxury high-rise on East 57th Street, looked like a set from a Sternberg-Dietrich movie—chandeliers, potted plants, oversized simulated marble banisters, a 17th-century tapestry of Achilles being slain by Paris and Apollo. Godard, clean shaven and wearing a tweed jacket, was waiting in a room that had a magnificent view of the East River.

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Changes: Life and Politics

Do you think you were ahead of your time in the late '60s and early '70s with films such as *WEEKEND*, which were seen as offering a revolutionary critique of the establishment?

I don't think so. Ahead sometimes means not relevant. I was aside or beside or under. The Vertov films [*Pravda*, *Vladimir and Rosa*] were for a smaller audience. I am doing it better now than in the Vertov films because there is less emphasis. Before, even in a film like *Tout Va Bien* there was too much meaning. Now the directions come more from the feelings.

Would you say that the early films (e.g., *BREATHLESS*) were mostly feeling and the Vertov films mostly thought, and your work now feeling and thought?

The Vertov films were more abstract with a preconceived idea. Yes, perhaps I should have called *Sauve Qui Peut*—"Feelings and Thoughts." I think it is a good title. It's very good to think, but with feeling and emotion.

Does this extend into the area of politics?

This movie may be more political than some of the other ones but it doesn't assert itself as loudly as we did before. We were too childish. The films before were too rigid. The screen was a blackboard. Now it is something like a transparency.

But from what perspective?

I used to say life was politics. Now I say life and politics. Before I said it was politics maybe to hammer it. Now I name it life.

Stop motion.

Several years ago you said that film was "truth at 24 frames per second." Now you use stop motion to show a single frame—what the eyes can't normally see. Is this a desire to go beyond recording surface reality? A new form of montage? Yes, but I also have done it with sound. The camera can analyze social movement. I would say now that we see only a certain amount of truth when we look at a film at 24 fps. I now try to be able to have a look at what is usually not seen. Like the camera is an X-ray machine. If we slow down the way that cinema is working so we see pieces and you stop a frame you see new and different things. More like explosions. In one frame one emotion. In the next, something everyday. In the next, something despairing.

Women's Faces and Reality.

Women often play central roles in your films. Do you find that the facial expressions of women differ from those of men?

In shooting a good deal of stop motion, I discovered that we see expressions in it

on women that do not exist in men. My statistics are, of course, not much. But with the men there was nothing to be seen except some physical motion. With a woman it is more like a movement from one world to another. With a man it is more continuous.

Maybe it comes from the way women exist today because men are controlling the language and the meaning and the social roles. I was also noticing this when I looked at a TV serial. Women and small boys and small girls are this way. The expressions are not as formed.

Woman is acting more. Night and day. Sun and rain. In a sense she is incomplete, like a fraction. The man is more complete, like a whole number.

It is a condition of his existence. The man has a certain direction. But if he doesn't meet something or include the other person it doesn't matter. The man is just being. The woman is living.

Thinking about Prostitutes.

In this film and in some of your other films you choose to show women who are prostitutes. Why?

I choose prostitution instead of working because it is so obvious. It is the best illustration of trade. It is an extreme situation. It is like a stop motion.

In the scene in which the prostitute is being beaten up you make the point that she isn't free, only the banks are free.

We don't make statements in a movie. An image is not a statement. The scenes are shot so the audience is obliged to stop and to look and to think about it.

Certainly in the stylized scenes in your film you are not just recording but analyzing?

It is more thinking about than analyzing.

In *VIVRE SA VIE* your main character is a prostitute. The film, like *SAUVE QUI*

PEUT, consists of fragments and has evocative music. How does your treatment then differ from your treatment now?

Then there was absolutely no complaining, no criticism. Not in the picture nor in my mind. No complaining that her world is horrible and that it could be beautiful. Absolutely not. No sense that prostitution is not only perverted love but perverted work too.

Survival.

This film even in its title seemed to be about survival.

In this movie you are always obliged to think of two things: escape and limit; the country and the city; getting away and not leaving; imagination and history. Of various contradictions. More and more people feel that way today—outsiders in an alien country.

Have you changed your views on class struggle and on capitalist society?

No, not at all. I haven't changed that way although I may criticize some things I've gone through. Like, after five years you have a new relationship and you don't reject what you have done before, but then it is something different.

Sometimes I feel like a stranger. It is like having two bodies and two minds. Always being near the border.

After.

In one sense, Godard is an Eisenstein of our times. Unlike Eisenstein, however, he is a would-be independent producer in a capitalist marketplace. The strength and limitations of his films come from the same source: In his life and in his films he is a part of the contradictions of the period.

Michael Klein teaches at Rutgers University and will teach at Warwick University, England, this spring.

France

Continued from page 9

ciety in France without demanding the same for Israel," he said.

France's "new right" spokesmen all condemned the bombing and hotly denied that they were anti-Semitic. Alain de Benoist praised the Jews as "a community justly anxious to preserve their identity." What he opposes, he stressed, is "universalism" that mixes up peoples without regard for their natural cultural tendencies. Michel Marmin, editor of the new right theoretical review *Elements*, praised the Jewish community for preserving its identity. The real "new racists" are "the children of market society, of that society whose founders opened the way to all genocides and all

ethnocide in modern history by massacring the Indians in America."

The declared enemy of the new right is "Russo-American leveling," the "melting pot," and Christianity, whose detestable "universalism" tried to force European pagans and Jews alike out of their "natural," suitable beliefs into a single model.

The new right, echoed by French neo-Nazi publications, has taken up an ethnic politics that is disturbingly similar to existing trends. Ethnic sorting out seems a first necessary step in establishing the new "natural" hierarchic order. The real target for elimination would appear to be, no longer Jews as such, but anyone who strays out of his cultural pattern—immigrant workers, feminists, homosexuals, nonconformist young people, leftists...and eventually any Jews so "unnatural" as to want to live in France rather than in Israel where they belong.

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CHICAGO, IL

October 29

The Citizens Party will present the movie, *BURN*, starring Marlon Brando, at the Three Penny Theater, 2424 N. Lincoln Ave., at 8:45 p.m. There is a \$4.00 donation for this fundraising benefit. Call 332-2066 for more information.

November 8

"BOTTLE BILL BALL": Benefit dance for Illinois Environmental Council (IEC) in support of mandatory beverage container deposit to reduce litter. Saturday, from 8:30 p.m.-midnight. O'Hare-Kennedy Holiday Inn, 5440 North River Road in Rosemont. Entertainment by "Airflow Deluxe," music of the '20s, '30s and '40s. Cash bar. Tickets \$10.00. For information, contact Bill Pfannenstiel, 243-2000, extension 52.

NEW YORK, NY

October 31

Alice Amsden, David Gordon and Bill Tabb will discuss PERSPECTIVES ON THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS. Co-sponsored

by the Radical History Forum and URPE. Admission: \$2.00. At 7:30 p.m. at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St.

November 9

Jewish folk revival! JEWISH CURRENTS benefit concert, with KAPELYE, six-person klezmer band, and Barbara Moskow, soprano, at 1075 2nd Ave., (E. 57th) NYC. Tickets: \$7/\$5/\$3. Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., NYC 10003, (212) WA4-5740.

NATIONWIDE

November 5

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By Pat Aufderheide

Ordinary People is so stylishly somber that it can be easy to forget that, after all, it's only a movie.

The film's subject is family pathology, its instance a son's suicide attempt in the upper reaches of middle-class society in Lake Forest, Ill. Conrad (Timothy Hutton) failed to save his handsomer, more popular older brother in a boating accident. After coming out of his suicide attempt, he is seeing a therapist (Judd Hirsch). The facade of family peace is collapsing. Mom (Mary Tyler Moore), a perpetually chipper social butterfly, is ever colder and more distant to her remaining son. Dad (Donald Sutherland), a tax attorney and all around good sport, is ever more baffled at his son's outbursts and his wife's coldness.

The therapist precipitates the action by goading Conrad into expressing anger. The unraveling of the family pact follows. Son finally gets angry at Mom for being cold to him, Mom recoils in horror, Dad recoils at the sight of Mom being cruel. Mom finally leaves home, and Dad and Conrad meanwhile find a way to express their love.

FILM



Conrad tries to communicate with a cold-fish mom.

Get out your hankies for suburban suicide

Robert Redford has done two things wonderfully in his first directorial effort. He has told a story well and with bold efficiency. There is no extra anything in these scenes. Sharp, vivid cuts and a cards-on-the-table style of presenting information keep us watching without pause. The

style, the environment and the subject go together; *Interiors* looks like a hapless parody of this world. (You can just see a dejected Woody Allen, confirming in his belief that only WASPs can really capture that culture.)

He has also elicited subtle, controlled, moving perform-

ances from the three family members, along with a contrasting tense, invigorating performance from Hirsch. In his recent interviews, Redford has emphasized his empathy with actors, and it shows. Sutherland's tics, often garishly appropriate to his roles, are gone. Moore's lightning off-on switches from private to social self are, each time, indictments of a national female style.

He has also done a third thing so well that it's not apparent (except in box office reports)—he has made a real weeper.

We've gotten plenty used to campy sentimentality, the get-out-your-handkerchiefs movies, whether they're about dying young wives, cripples, wronged virgins, blind skaters or sick ball players. But this fresh example of the genre sneaks by, because its style is so earnest, its social class rarefied, its subject serious.

Of course, it is accurate in many ways. It has the virtue of taking a poorly understood social phenomenon—teenage suicide—and giving it an engrossing, sympathetic on-screen treatment, and even managing to do so in a way that doesn't reduce the characters to the issue.

But two things turn the film from a painful but true vision of

an American family in crisis into a whopper entertainment film. One is the distance of the father from the mother's behavior. This is a man who, inexplicably, has been living with a woman for some 20 years, noticing many of her virtues and failings but never becoming dependent on them, *never needing them*. He is, apparently, in the family but not of it. He doesn't really need her social skills, nor does he need her emotional coldness as protection from the rough edges of emotion in himself. A session with the therapist brings him to the light. So when she starts to fall apart, he doesn't. He just gets stronger and more able to communicate with his son.

This tendency then leads to the second aspect of the film's soap operatic tendencies. The father's independence from the wife also becomes the boy's independence from his mother and, finally, the independence of the core family from the woman. It's *Kramer vs. Kramer* grows up; the cross-generational buddies stand in the sunrise.

So, its social-work solemnity aside, *Ordinary People* takes its place in a tradition of classic entertainment films, complete with a happy ending. Father does know best.

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Two or three things we know about him

I FIRST INTERVIEWED JEAN-LUC Godard in 1972. At that time Godard and his collaborator Jean Pierre Gorin were talking about creating a film culture that would be linked to the process of developing a new Marxist-Leninist party in France.

I had arranged for Godard and Gorin to bring their two new films, *Tout Va Bien* and *Letter to Jane*, to Rutgers during the New York Film Festival at Lincoln Center. We met him at Alice Tully Hall after a press screening of the films. Godard was dressed in jeans, a turtle-neck sweater, a leather jacket and had a beard. After the show he was surrounded by several film festival groupies, including some men and women in fur coats and tall boots who looked like they were refugees from the Russian Tea Room. As spectators we felt uneasy: the encounter between revolutionary artist and wealthy consumer of radical culture (and, by extension, patron) seemed much too comfortable. But then, it didn't look too different from photos of Eisenstein's visit to the U.S. in the '30s.

A reporter from the *New York Times* got into the car with Godard and Gorin and accompanied us on our journey back. He kept up a steady stream of historical observations—approving comments about the U.S. in Vietnam, clever put-downs of American populist movements. Then, in response to a leading question, Godard and Gorin replied that they were touring American colleges and film festivals to milk the American bourgeoisie to get money that would be used to fund their next revolutionary project. We cringed, only too aware of what was happening. (The feature article in the *Sunday Times Magazine* pictured Godard and Gorin as cynical ripoff artists.) At the same time, imposing our preconceptions on Godard and Gorin, we couldn't understand why they didn't know how to deal with the *Times* reporter. After all, weren't political filmmakers political?

The Rutgers administration certainly thought they were. Special security police were stationed in the Rutgers gym during the screening of *Tout Va Bien* and *Letter to Jane*. The cost of the police was deducted from Godard and Gorin's lecture fee.

The films were well received by the audience of 3,000 students and faculty. There was a spirited debate about whether or not *Letter to Jane* (in part a critique of narrative film rhetoric) was unfair in its criticism of Jane Fonda's activities on behalf of the NLF. *Tout Va Bien*, for many in the audience, was one of the few films they had seen that placed working-class political and economic activity in the foreground without being tendentious.

That night we went to a diner on Route 1 with Godard. We thought he might be interested in getting a closer look at American working-class culture. He wasn't. General political discussion about America didn't seem to interest him either. However he was fascinated by the iconography of the placemats in the diner. Thirty-six visual images: American presidents from Washington to Nixon. After FDR the presidents looked

different—they smiled like figures in commercials. To Godard this signified a cultural watershed. We attempted to situate the signs in the context of changes in the quality of life and political activity in the U.S. in the time of the Cold War and McCarthyism: the substitution of image for substance and illusion for reality; the reduction of democracy to public relations. Godard didn't disagree. But it was the visual elements that seized his imagination.

Later, as we taped a long interview, Godard said that he was going from country to country "like a migrant worker," making films that were "images from the social corpse." His films were constructions of sounds and images designed to make the audience see the world differently, "to ask questions," thus "to make new connections." Godard insisted that he didn't supply answers—that would be "going too fast."

We were puzzled. This was the co-director of *Pravda*, *See You at Mao* and *Vladimir and Rosa*. He had rejected most of his earlier achievement (*The Married Woman*, *Contempt*) as bourgeois, and most all of world cinema as "Hollywood-Brezhnev." Yet he made the claims of a 19th-century realist: He was presenting observations, not making statements or calls to action.

Today, listening to the tapes of the interview, one is painfully aware of a huge misunderstanding. Godard was developing in new directions. In the midst of a discussion about the NLF's seven-point peace plan for an end to the war in Vietnam, Godard stepped outside, looked up at the stars, and asked me what was my

"seven-point plan" for peace and personal happiness. For Godard, the political and the personal were becoming increasingly intertwined and metaphoric.

New film.

Jean-Luc Godard's new film, shown at the 1980 New York Film Festival, is about personal survival. *Every Man for Himself* (*Sauve Qui Peut La Vie*) is about coping in the world of the '80s, a world where the allegorical figures are

no longer Ho and Mao but Carter (or Reagan) and Schmidt, Giscard d'Estaing and Thatcher, where at times the destruction of nature and society appears more imminent than revolution.

There is scant narrative in *Every Man for Himself*. Most of the film is a meditation on the contemporary condition in the West. Like most of Godard's films, *Every Man for Himself* presents perceptive and unsettling images. Road-markings on a highway in a pastoral Swiss landscape remind us that our sense of the beauty and harmony of nature is a function of an industrial society that destroys the countryside. A small red rectangle (a screen) in a large architectural space reminds us of the limits and persistence of art (film) in the contemporary world.

On occasion Godard substitutes stop-motion or slow motion for the usual progression of images, probing and analyzing surface reality. For example, we see an expression of despair on the face of one of the characters while she is riding a bicycle in the country, an expression we would have missed had we been standing as she passed by, or if the film had been photographed and projected at the usual

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CONVERSATIONS WITH JEAN-LUC GODARD BY MICHAEL KLEIN



Nathalie Baye in *EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF*.